



Natus postea Hen. Jan. 1600

Obyit XII Kal. Aprilis. MDCLV

JACOBUS USSERIUS,  
Archiepiscopus Armachanus totius  
Hiberniæ Primas.

187. 1600  
145. 1619



Natus p[ro]p[ri]e Non. Jan. 1580.

Obijt XII. Kal. Aprilis. MDCLV.

JACOBUS USSERIUS,  
 Archiepiscopus Armachanus totius  
 Hiberniæ Primas.

187. 187.  
 145. 145.



# THE POWER

Communicated by GOD

## To the Prince,

AND

## THE OBEDIENCE

Required of

## THE SUBJECT.

Briefly laid down, and Confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, the Testimony of the Primitive Church, the Dictates of right Reason, and the Opinion of the Wisest among Heathen Writers.

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By the most Reverend Father in God,  
JAMES late Lord Archbishop of ARMAGH,  
and PRIMATE of all IRELAND.

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Faithfully published out of the Original Copy, (written with  
his own hand) by the Reverend Father in God,  
ROBERT SAUNDERSON L. Bishop of Lincoln,  
With his Lordships Preface thereunto.

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PROV. 24:21. My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with  
them that are given to change.

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The Second Edition Corrected.

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LONDON, Printed by Mary Clarke for Charles Harper at the Flower-  
de-luce over against St. Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet. 1683.

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T O T H E  
Kings most excellent Majesty,  
**C H A R L E S II.**

By the Grace of God  
King of Great Britain, France, and  
Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

My most dread Sovereign,

**T**He Law of Nature ob-  
liging all men to ad-  
vance the Honour and  
Reputation of their Ancestors,  
I could not render a more signal  
Obedience thereto, than by De-  
dicating this Treatise (compo-  
sed purposely for the Rights  
both of Princes and Subjects)  
to Your Sacred Majesty, to

A 3      Whom

The EPISTLE

*Whom it doth most properly appertain: Seeing it was at first compiled for the Service and Satisfaction of Your Royal Father, of blessed memory, and by his deep Judgment and singular Prudence thought worthy the Publishing to the World.*

*But those cross Occurrents, which then and since have obstructed it, having given it the happier opportunity of appearing in the more peaceful and prosperous Reign of Your Excellent Majesty, and I hope for the confirmation of staggering Loyalty in the hearts of many in these your Dominions. Therefore as Your Majesties right to the*  
*Pa-*

## DEDICATORY.

*Patronage of this Book may be termed a right of Succession; so the Book it self may almost challenge this noble priviledge, that being composed for, and presented to the greatest and best of Kings, it should not without a kind of Diminution be Dedicated to any Prince in Christendom, except Your Majesties Royal Self.*

*I shall now make this my most humble Suit to Your Majesty, That as the Reverend Author in his Life-time publickly professed his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and constantly prayed for Your Majesties happy and glorious Return to these Your*  
*King-*

THE EPISTLE, &c.

*Kingdoms, and in all things  
shewed himself Your Loyal  
Subject; so You would be plea-  
sed to own him as such, by affor-  
ding Your Gracious Coun-  
tenance to this his Posthumous  
Work; which will eternize the  
memory of the deceased Author,  
and thereby confer the greatest  
temporal Blessing on*

Your Majesties

Most Loyal and

Obedient Subject

JAMES TYRRIL.

THE  
PREFACE  
TO THE  
READER.

**T**He Reader is desired  
to take notice, that  
*this Treatise* was writ-  
ten by the Reverend  
and Learned Author, at the special  
command of our late gracious So-  
vereign (of blessed memory) King  
CHARLES I. about the time  
when those Unhappy Distempers  
(which had been a good while  
before by the endeavours of some  
unquiet spirits secretly working un-  
der-hand, and not long after broke  
out most desperately into a bloudy

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## *The Preface.*

and *unnatural War*) did first begin to appear openly in our Land. As soon as the *Treatise* was finished, the Author caused a *Copy* thereof to be fairly transcribed, and with a *Dedicatory Epistle* prefixed thereunto, to be presented to his Majesty; Who having read the Book, signified his will and pleasure that it should be *Printed*; to the end that all his beloved Subjects might receive the like satisfaction from the same, as himself had done. Whereupon the *Author*, being not then at *London* himself, sent up the aforesaid transcript *Copy* thither, to the intent it should be there *Printed*: which notwithstanding, whether by the *negligence* or *unfaithfulness* of the Party to whose care and trust it was committed, was not done; but the *Copy* it self finally lost, or pretended to be lost, and so



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so that intent frustrated. The Original Copy of his own hand-writing being in the mean time by the Author (supposing perhaps there would be little use of it after it was printed) neglectedly laid aside, and so at length mingling with some other Papers, it became so buried amongst those heaps of Books and Writings, whereof he had good store, that it never was his hap to meet with it again all his life time; but gave it over for lost also, as well as the Transcript aforesaid, to his great grief, as he oft expressed to those that were about him: Yet was it not indeed lost, but onely mis-laid, as after his death appeared. When they, to whom it appertained to take an Inventory of what he left behind him, in sorting his Papers which lay disorderly and confusedly,

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fusedly, some in one place of his Study, some in another, amongst the rest found the *first Original Copy* of this Treatise, from beginning to end, all written with his own hand; which they looked upon as a *choice Jewel* (*quantivis pretii κεφάλιον*) and took care accordingly to preserve it, with an intention (as in duty for the performance of the *Will of the Dead*, they held themselves obliged to do) when the Times would bear it, to publish it to the World, for the *common benefit* of all those, that were *able* to understand it, and *willing* to make a good use of it.

II. But as the Times then were, the whole Nation being enslaved to the will and tyranny of a *monstrous Usurper*, it could not be either *safe* or *seasonable* so to do; in so far, that for any person onely to have

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have been known to have had such a piece in his custody, had bin crime enough to have cast him under the displeasure of the most *merciless Tyrant*, and withall *the most perfect Dissembler* in the World. And the Work it self, had it been once discovered where it lay, had been sure either to have been suppressed, & so to have perished for ever; or (which is no less probable, but had been much worse) to have been perverted, quite contrary to the pious and loyal intention of the Author, in being made Instrumental to the support of his power, who having unrighteously invaded the Sovereignty, was then in actual possession of the Sword. For by this time the Flatterers of that great Tyrant had learned by a new device, upon the bare account of *Providence*, without respect to the

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justice of *the Title* (the onely right and proper foundation) to interpret and apply to his advantage, whatsoever they found either in *the Scriptures* or in other *Writings* delivered concerning *the Power of Princes* or the *Duty of Subjects*, profanely and sacrilegiously taking the name of that *holy Providence of God* in vain, and using it onely as a stalking Horse to serve the *lusts* and *interests* of ambitious men.

III. When by the death of that Tyrant it was hoped *the black Cloud* that hanged over us would scatter, yet was the Coast for all that, never a whit the clearer; but the *darkness* rather thickned upon us, and the danger of bringing any thing of *this nature* to light, was much greater than before. The tyranny still continued, though under various shapes; *Proteus-like*,  
ever

## To the Reader.

ever and anon changing Forms; *Mock-Parliaments*, and other (what shall we call them?) things for which it was hard to find names to distinguish them by. The very name of *Monarchy* mean while decried and exploded as a devoted and execrable thing; and (to make short) every thing posting on desperately towards *Anarchy*, *Confusion* and *Ruine*.

IV. Thus lay we in *darkness* and in the *shadow* of death, heartless and hopeless; when behold Θεὸς δὲ πρὸ μὲν  
χαρὸς, the eternal God, who in the beginning of the Creation caused light to shine out of darkness, (to manifest at once the mightiness of his Power, and the riches of his Mercy and Compassion, in looking upon the miseries of a foolish and unthankful People, that had so highly provoked him) appeared gloriously

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ously in the Mount, and caused the light of his favourable countenance once more to shine upon us in the midst of our great confusions. And all this done, since men have talked so much of *Providence*, who (so far as appeareth by their actions) believe nothing of it, by a special hand of *Providence* indeed, so signal and visible (considered in all its circumstances) as if the Lord had purposely stretched out his hand to convince the bold *Atheists* of these times, that verily there is such a thing as they call *Providence*, and that doubtless there is a God that judgeth the Earth.

V. This so blessed and unexpected a change (*Mutatio dextræ excelsi*) amongst many other good effects tending to the happiness of this Nation (if we would but keep our selves quiet and be thankful)

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ful) hath by removing the late unhappy obstructions, made a way for *Truth* and *Reason*, which before durst scarce peep out without a disguise, to adventure abroad open-faced. Which opportunity gave me the perusal of this Book, brought to my hands by a Gentleman of great hopes and ingenuity, and Grandchild to the said Author, in whose custody it then was. Upon the perusal whereof I found it so full of *Truth* and *Reason*, and so every way answering that expectation which the known abilities of so learned an Author had before-hand raised in me, that in order to the publick benefit, and for preservation of true *Christian* loyalty in the hearts of all my fellow-subjects, I endeavoured what in me lay, to help forward the Impression. It is a thing indeed very much

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much desired by men piously zealous of the *Publick Peace*, that by the prudent care of those that are in Authority some *timely and effectual* provisions were made for *repressing* the exorbitant licentiousness both of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, and the *suppressing* of seditious *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*; by means whereof thousands of *well-meaning* souls become poisoned in their *judgments*, have their *affections* sowed towards their *Governours*, in whom they ought to rejoice, and are *themselves* apt to be misled into the foulest practices of *disobedience* and *rebellion* ere they be aware. In the mean time, until some further order be taken herein, it is but needful that such *Treatises* of this nature, as carry *weight* and *evidence* with them, should be published to the World for the settling of  
mens



*to the Reader.*

mens judgments & consciences aright, as concerning the great duties of *Christian obedience and subjection*, and for the preventing of such mischiefs as must unavoidably ensue, where those so necessary points are either *mis-represented* by the Leaders, or *mis-understood* by the People.

VI. For the attaining of which ends I have great reason to believe that what is here presented to view, may be as effectually conducive, as any thing that hath been written or probably can be written (at least in this present Age) by any other hand, whether we respect *the Work* or the *Author*. In *the Work* it self, the diligent and impartial Reader, that will but bestow his hours so profitably as to take it all before him from the beginning to the end, (besides the great variety of *Learning* and *Authorities* which he shall

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shall meet withall all along) will easily find all to the full made good in the *Treatise*, whatsoever is promised in the *Title*. And then for the *Author* himself, it is not unknown to the *World* what great esteem was had of his *learning* and *moderation*, and what great respect and reverence was paid to his *Person* and *Judgment* by the generality even of those men, whose either *judgments* or *interests* swayed them to entertain other persuasions than he had in sundry points, as well concerning the *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil Government*. Which truly as it is a very great advantage in it self (for in this case, as in some other things, the old saying holdeth, *Duo cum faciunt idem non est idem*, and many times the value the Patient setteth upon the *Physician*, advanceth the *Cure* almost incredibly beyond what the vertue of  
of

*to the Reader.*

of the Ingredients would have done without it:) So this Reverend Primate had that advantage in a very great measure, above almost all other men in the World in his time. If some men I could name, should write of the Power of Kings, and the Duty of Subjects, with the Pen and Art of Men and Angels, with all the evidence of Truth, and the greatest strength of Reason imaginable, it would work no more upon one sort of men in this generation, than a Charm would do upon a deaf Adder. Their Writings would be slighted and thrown aside, decried and condemned all with a breath, without the reading of any more than the bare Title Page. Of so much greater force are Names than Things for the heightning or lessening the Authority of mens Writings,

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Writings, with such as have suffered themselves to be engaged in Parties and Factions; or whose Judgments are forestalled with prejudices or partial affections. But this Reverend Author, besides his great abilities in all kind of profitable and polite Learning, his vast reading and readiness to make use of what he had read upon all occasions, had also by his Piety and Regularity of life, by his Meekness and Moderation, by his humble, affable, and free letting himself forth to all Converses, together with his facility and willingness to hold fair compliances and correspondencies with those he presently conversed with, gained to himself such a general reputation with all Parties, that his very Name carried Authority with it, and awed those very men into

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a reverend estimation of his Person and Judgment, who were yet too stiff to submit to the judgments of any person but themselves.

VII. Of the Author, whose worth and abilities are so well known to the World both at home and abroad, I shall not need to say any more, nor of his other Works, which (without me) will sufficiently *praise him in the gates*. All the account I am to give, is of this present Work, which had appeared sooner in publick, but that it seemed necessary to have it fairly transcribed once more, and the Transcript compared with the Original, before it were sent to the Press, and that for two Reasons; The one because the *αὐτῆραρον*, or first Copy being close written with many Additions, Interlinings and References (and those some-  
times

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times very obscure and scarce discernable) almost in every Page, would so have puzzled and perplexed the Workmen at the Press, that it had not been possible for them to have carried on the Work, without much difficulty and disturbance to themselves, and no less injury and trouble to the Readers, through the multitude of mistakings and misplacings of Words, Sentences and Quotations. The other, that the Original Copy might not in the whole, or in any part thereof be soiled, torn, scattered or lost, whiles it was in the Printers or Correctors hands, but that the same being preserved whole and entire, might remain as a Record, ready to be produced and shewn under the Authors own hand, whensoever it should be required, either to justify the  
inte-

*to the Reader.*

integrity of this Publication, or to  
satisfie any person that may sus-  
pect Forgery therein, or upon any  
other just occasion otherwise: For  
*posthumous* Writings (because many  
of them are such) lie all of them un-  
der the suspicion of being *Spurious*  
and *Supposititious*, or at leastwile  
of being *moulded*, *interpolated* and  
*condited* to the gust and palate of  
the Publisher. To discharge my  
self and all that have any hand in  
this Publication, from all such su-  
spicion, and clear to the World our  
Innocency in that behalf, we  
thought our selves obliged to give  
better security than our own bare  
Word; that if any doubt should  
be made of our fidelity herein, re-  
course might be had to the Au-  
thors undoubted Original Copy  
(reserved in his Grandchilds hand  
for that purpose) for better satisfa-  
ction herein.

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VIII. Now the main design of the whole Work is that which is contained in the latter part thereof, concerning *the Duty of Subjects*: That all the Kings Liege People might know they were in their Consciences (both by the Law of God and their own native condition) bound to hold close to their Allegiance and Obedience to the Kings most excellent Majesty; notwithstanding all the attempts that were then endeavoured to be made upon their *Loyalty*, under the softer Notions of Religion and Liberty; or those fiercer assaults (which the face of Affairs then threatned, and soon after ensued) of Plunder and Undoing. But forasmuch as the Duty which God requires of Subjects is grounded upon that Power which the same God hath committed to Sovereigns,  
(as



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(as S. Paul, Rom. 13. 1, &c. clearly deduceth the obligation of that Duty from God's ordaining that Power, and then men will faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey the King, according to Gods blessed Word and Ordinance, when they shall have duly considered whose Authority he hath : ) He saw it most agreeable to the Laws of good Method, that he should first establish the Princes Power upon the right bottom, and thence demonstratively infer and enforce the Subjects duty as a necessary consequence thereof; like a wise Master-Builder, laying the ground-work sure, that the Structure might rise the firmer. For upon the right stating of these two Questions concerning the Power of Sovereign Princes, *What* it is, and *Whence* it is? which how exactly it is performed in the former Part of this Treatise, I leave the

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intelligent Reader to judge) dependeth the true decision of all such emergent Differences and Controversies as may arise at any time between Princes and their Subjects, and consequently the Safety and Security of both; and consequently to those, the Peace and happiness of all Kingdoms, States and Commonwealths.

IX. By what hath been said the Reader will easily perceive, that it is a matter of very great and universal concernment (for both Prince and People, that is, all Mankind, are concerned in it) that the two Points insisted upon in this Treatise should be well known and rightly understood. And therefore I cannot sufficiently wonder at the inconsiderateness, or perverseness rather, of those men, if any such shall be found, (and by the Pulse of the Times, and other Indications,

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cations, it is no hard matter to foresee there will be found enough such) as will take offence at the publishing hereof, or indeed of any thing else that can be written, although with never so much truth and soberness in this Argument. But yet they have not all the same pretences, some quarrelling most at the Persons, others at the Thing it self, and some perhaps at the very circumstance of Time, according as they are led along by their several Passions or Interests.

1. Some, who look upon the Church with an evil eye, forso-much as not this present Work onely, but most of what hath been written in this kind heretofore, hath bin written by the Bishops or other Episcopal Divines, will be ready to give out, and that, according to their old wont, with confidence

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enough, That it is not either the love of Truth, or zeal of the Honour of Kings, but the busie forwardness of some flattering ambitious Church-men, the more to ingratiate themselves with the Higher Powers, in hope to get better preferments thereby, that hath brought forth into the World so many Discourses and Treatises concerning the *Power of Sovereign Princes*, and the *Obedience of Subjects*. 2. Others, it may be, will alledge, That it is not for Divines at all to meddle in these matters, whereof they are not competent Judges, nor do they come within the compass of their Sphere; they ought to be left to the cognizance and determination of Statesmen and Lawyers, who best understand the Constitution of the several Governments, and the force and effect of

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of the Laws of their own several respective Countries, and are therefore presumed to be best able to judge, the one (by the Constitution) in whom the Sovereignty resideth, and the other (by the Laws) how that Sovereignty is bounded and limited in the exercise thereof. 3. Besides these, whose quarrel is chiefly against the Persons, there is a Generation of men wholly disaffected to the Thing it self; men of popular spirits, who have so far espoused certain false Principles, apt to engender Sedition, and utterly destructive of Kingly Government, that they will not easily be drawn off of them again. These taking it for an undeniable truth, which if examined to the bottom will be found so far remote from Truth, that it is not within the possibility

*Vid. Sect. 13.*

*in Præf.*

*— à cuius voluntate j. & regnandi profectur.*

*Grot. 2. de jur. Belli 4. 10.*

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of being rendred so much as probable by any other *medium*, than that it hath been countenanced by some great Names. That the Original of all Government is from the People, and that the Power which Kings and Princes have, was derived unto them from the People by way of Pact or Contract; would thence infer, That Princes can therefore claim no more Power as of right belonging unto them, than the People shall think fit to entrust them withall: Which the People may from time to time, and at all times, as they shall see cause in order to the publick weal and safety, either enlarge or restrain at their pleasure. Whence it will farther follow, that the Princes Power, being but a precarious and ambulatory Power, subject to be varied according

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ding to the exigency of Times and Occasions, is not capable to be comprized within any fixt Rules, neither can any thing be Written thereof with any certainty. 4. Nor is it improbable lastly, that some, willing to play such small Game rather than sit out, will take exceptions at the Ill timing of this publication. That Discourses of this nature might possibly at the time when these things were first written by the Primate, have been of some good use, towards the discovery of the iniquity and hypocrisie of the Mystery of Rebellion which had then begun to work, the giving a stop, or check at least, to the farther spreading thereof, and the keeping of the Kings good Subjects in their right wits, from falling into that Apostacy from their Faith and Allegiance

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legiance to his Majesty, into which multitudes of them, inveigled by False Teachers and Specious Pretences, were afterwards drawn: But now that by the merciful providence and good hand of God upon us, the King is so happily restored to his just Rights, and the Nation thereby to their ancient Laws and Liberties; His Supremacy so generally owned and acknowledged, and that under the sacred and religious tie of a solemn Oath all over the Realm; the People of the three Kingdoms reduced to their former obedience, and the Affairs both of Church and State put into a good forwardness of a happy and orderly resettlement, as there seemeth to be little need, so there will be made little use of this or any other Writings in this kind.

X. To



*to the Reader.*

X. To all which, and whatsoever other Objections can be made here-against, it shall suffice to oppose, as a general and satisfactory answer, that one short passage of St. Paul, Tit. 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every good work.* Doubtless the holy Apostle, who was so far from being a Flatterer or Man-pleaser, from seeking himself, his own glory, or other temporal advantage; from making Merchandize of the holy Word of God, or handling it deceitfully for filthy lucre's sake, that very often in his Epistles he utterly disclaimeth such base unworthy practices, as altogether unbeseeming the Servant of Christ, appealing to the Consciences of those that knew him, and calling in God also

Gal. 1. 10.  
1 Thess. 2. 5, 6.

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so to witness with him, how clear he stood in that behalf; would never have given it in charge to *Titus*, or any other Bishop or Minister of the Gospel, to preach such Doctrine to the People of God, had there been any thing of Flattery or Secular Design in so doing. Nor were the Times then such as could reasonably tempt any man to such Flattery with hopes of Preferment, (and what man, not forsaken of his wits, would play the Parasite for nothing?) when as neither the Church had yet any settled Revenue, nor was there at that time so much as any one Christian Prince in the universal World. It is evident enough from sundry intimations scattered in all his Epistles, especially those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the reasons of the Apo-  
stles

*to the Reader.*

stles Injunction, without the least reflection upon his own or their terrene Interests, were drawn from Topicks of more sublime consideration. The Ordinance of God, The discharge of Duty and a good Conscience, The advancement of the Gospel, and The Honour of the Christian Religion. Subjection and Obedience to Superiours is certainly no small part of the Christians Duty; a debt so just, and so well known to be so, that the Apostle supposeth none could be utterly ignorant of; onely because men generally are not so forward to perform known Duties as they should be, he saw it needful they should be sometimes, and upon all just occasions, admonished and reminded thereof by their Teachers.

XI. And then sure if those Teachers

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chers be Divines, (and I think no sober man will deny *Titus*, and others by him assumed in *partem cura*, to have been such) the pressing of the aforesaid Duties can be no unfit Theme for Divines to busie themselves in: unless we will affirm that *St. Paul* meant to put a task upon them, altogether excentrick from their Function and Calling. It appertaineth to the Ministers Office, not onely to declare the Will of God to the People *circa res agendas*, (as well as *credendas*) to the intent they may frame their Lives and Actions accordingly; but also to stir up their minds by way of remembrance, and to charge upon their Consciences the performance of every duty they owe either to God or Man. Which is needful to be done in the particulars we now treat

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treat of (viz. Subjection and Obedience to lawful Authority) with as much diligence, vigour and instance, as almost in any other particular duty whatsoever; because through the corruption of Nature and the pride of mens Spirits, the greatest part of Mankind are *tarda nomina*, such Debtors as will abide calling on, not willing to pay more than needs must, nor that but with some grudging. But how shall the Minister be able to do this \* with Authority? or, how shall he secure himself and his endeavours the mean while from Scorn and Contempt, if he shall not be able first competently to convince the persons he is to deal withall, that such Subjection and Obedience is their bounden duty? For vain it is to think that empty words should have any strong operation

\* *Metu nolens  
comparans. Tit.  
2.15.*

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operation upon the wills and affections of men in any thing required to be done of them, without representing to their Understandings somewhat to make the Proposal seem reasonable. And then forasmuch as the Obligation to those Duties in Inferiours ariseth from, and is commensurate unto that Power wherewith Superiours are entrusted, as hath been partly already shewn) the most proper and rational course that can be taken to persuade men effectually to the performance of those Duties, is by informing them rightly and clearly what that Power is, and whence it is derived.

XII. True it is, that for the more ease of the Governours, and better satisfaction of the People, in securing their Properties, preserving Peace among them, and  
doing

*to the Reader.*

doing them Justice, the absolute and unlimited Sovereignty which Princes have by the Ordinance of God, hath at all times, and in all Nations been diversly limited and bounded in the ordinary exercise thereof, by such Laws and Customs as the supreme Governours themselves have consented unto and allowed. As with us in *England*, there are sundry Cases wherein a Subject, in maintainance of his right and property, may wage Law with the King, bring his Action and have Judgment against him in open Court; and the Judges in such case are bound by their Oaths and Duties to right the Party according to Law, against the King as well as against the meanest of his Subjects. And it is very true also, that where any Controversie ariseth about

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*Meum*

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*Meum* and *Tuum*, or Suit groweth between the King and one or more of his Subjects, (as it may be about some *Tenure, Grant, Privilege, Usage*, or other thing) the debating and determining of every such Doubt or Controversie belongeth to the learned Lawyers and reverend Judges, who are presumed to be best skilled in the Laws and Customs of the Land, as their proper study, wherein they are daily conversant, and not to Divines, who (as Divines) are no competent Judges in such matters, nor do they come within the compass of their Sphere. All this therefore must be granted; yet is not the Divine hereby wholly excluded from having his part, and that proper and peculiar to him, even in the nicest Law Cases; so far as they relate to Morality and  
Practice



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Practice in point of Conscience. For humane Laws cannot be the adequate measure of Moral Duty in the judgment of any reasonable man, (for *Atheists*, though masters of never so much Reason, I reckon not of as reasonable men) the Laws being finite and fixed, but the circumstances of mens actions, on which their lawfulness and unlawfulness chiefly dependeth, various and infinite. The Laws allow (and of necessity so must) many things to be done, which an honest man would be loath to do; and affordeth sundry advantages, which one that feareth God, and maketh conscience of his ways, ought not to take. As then, when the whole business under consideration is perfectly stated, with all the material circumstances thereunto belonging, as to

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matter of Fact, if any doubt arise what in such case may be done or not done in point of Law, wise men use to take the advise and direction of their learned Counsel skilled in the Laws : In like manner, if any doubt arise, what in the same Case so stated as before is fit to be done or not done in point of Conscience ; whence can any man seek for resolution and instruction so properly and rationally, as from the mouth of a learned, grave and sober Divine? *The Priests lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his mouth, Mal.2.7.*

XIII. Whether what I have now last insisted upon will be taken for a Digression or not, is at the Readers courtesie, and as he will interpret it. To me it seemed pertinent enough to the Objection,  
and

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and somewhat needful also to be taken notice of, in regard of the great clamour raised against Church-men for thrusting their Sickle in every mans Corn; by those men, who (it seemeth) have not considered, or not with an equal eye, how busily and magisterially men of other Professions adventure into the World their bold dictates, not onely in matters concerning Church-discipline and Government, but even in the deepest points of Polemical and School-Divinity. But otherwise, & as in relation to the present Treatise, I confess it might well enough have been spared. Wherein the reverend Author, without meddling with these Punctilio's of the Law, undertaketh no more but to declare and assert the Power of Sovereign Princes, as the godly

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Fathers and Councils of the ancient Catholick Church from the evidence of holy Scripture, and the most judicious Heathen Writers by discourse of Reason from the light of Nature, have constantly taught and acknowledged the same: as to the unprejudiced Reader by the perusal of the Book it self will easily appear. And it must be a strange perverseness of spirit in any person whosoever he be, that shall affirm such an undertaking by a Divine, to be a stretching himself beyond the lines and measure of his Calling.

XIV. And as for the Sovereignty, be it as it will be with other States and Commonwealths in regard of their Constitution: to us of this Nation it is so evident, where it resideth, that we need not to have recourse to Statesmen  
or

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or Lawyers for Information in that point. The known Laws of the Land have declared it so fully, and particularly the Oath of Supremacy expressed it so clearly, that any man of ordinary capacity may understand it as well as the deepest Statesman in the World. That which some talk of, a mixt Monarchy, (which by the way is an arrand Bull, a contradiction *in adjecto*, and destroyeth it self,) and others dream of such a Co-ordination in the Government, as was hatched amidst the heat of the late Troubles, but never before heard of in our Land; are in very truth no better than senseless and ridiculous Fancies. Which although some men have framed to themselves out of their own vain imaginations, made

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them as gay as they could, and then set them up as Idols to be adored by the Populacy, always apt to admire what they understand not; yet are they not able to stand up in the presence of that Oath, but must fall flat to the ground before it, as *Dagon* before the Ark, and be broken all to pieces. Are not the words of the Oath [*That the Kings Highness is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm, &c.*] as plain and obvious to every mans understanding, as the wit of man can devise? and ought not every Oath to be sworn and taken, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the words wherein it is exprest and administred? It were an inexcusable tyranny in the State, to the ensnaring of the  
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Consciences of many thousands of well-meaning and loyal Subjects, to require that Oath to be taken in such a form of words, if it were to be understood in any other sense than those words literally import; and that sense not made known to them by some publick Declaration or other. For then how could such an Oath be sworn and taken (as every Oath ought to be) in *truth*, and *judgment*, and *righteousness*? Jer. 4. 2.

XV. As for those in the next place that would derive the Original of all Government from the People by way of Pact or Contract: It may suffice to say that they take that for granted which never yet was proved, nor (I dare say) will ever be proved while the World standeth, either  
from

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from Scripture, Reason or History. *Ius gladii*, the right and power of the Sword (which is really the Sovereign Power) belongeth we know to Kings, but it is \* *by the Ordinance of God*, not the donation of the People: For † *He beareth the Sword* (St. Paul telleth us) as God's Minister, from whom he received it; and not as the Peoples Minister, who had no right to give it because they never had it themselves. If any shall say they had, the proof lieth on their part, to shew how they came by it: whether God gave it them, or they took it themselves. If God gave it them, let it be made appear when and where the first Grant was made; let some evidence be produced to justify the Claim, or at least some credible Testimony, or pregnant Presumption

\* T<sup>r</sup> Θεῷ δια-

ταγῇ.

Rom. 13.2.

† Θεῷ διαδο-

ν<sup>ο</sup>.

Ibid.

Deut. 17. 14,

15. query.



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ption to render it probable that there was some such thing done, though the Records be lost. If none of all this can be done, it remaineth, that if they had it, they took it. And if they so did, it was saucily and sacrilegiously done at the first; and by our Saviours presage, *Mat. 26. 52.* like enough to prosper with them accordingly at the last.

XVI. Besides, the supposed Contract it self is encombred with so many doubts and difficulties, that it is not possible for the wit of man to devise *salvo's* or expedients sufficient to rescue it from infinite intanglements and irreconcilable contradictions. I believe it would trouble the ablest of them all that hold this opinion, to give a direct satisfactory answer (amongst a world of Queries more that might be

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be tendered) to these following Interrogatories: First, for the Persons contracting; Of what sort of persons did the People, who are supposed to have made the first Contract in this kind, consist? Were all, without difference of Age, Sex, Condition, or other respect, promiscuously admitted to drive the bargain, or not? Had Women, and Children, and Servants, and Mad-men, and Fools, the freedom of suffrage, as well as men of Age and Fortunes, and understanding? Or were any of them excluded? If any excluded, who excluded them? by whose order, and by what Authority was it done? and who gave them that Authority? If all were admitted, whether with equal right to every one, or with some inequality? Was the Wives interest towards making

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making up the bargain equal with that of her Husband? and the Childs with that of his Parents? and the Servants (if there were or could be any such thing as Master and Servant) with that of his Master? If every one had not an equal share and interest in the business, whence did the Inequality arise? who made the difference between them? and what right had any man, and how came he to have that right, to give more or less power to one than to another? If all were equal, who could summon the rest to convene together? or appoint the day and place of meeting? or when they were met, take upon him the Authority and Office of regulating their proceedings, of presiding or moderating in the Assembly, of determining such doubts and differences as might

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might arise while matters were under debate, of calculating the voices, and drawing up the Articles of the Agreement, in case they should agree?

XVII. But let us imagine all these could be cleared, and the Contract made as they would have it; yet would the force and obligation of it remain questionable still: For it may be demanded, Whether the majority of Votes shall conclude all that are present, Dissenters as well as others? And whether by virtue of an Act of those upon the place, an obligation shall lie upon such as are casually absent, or willingly absent themselves, when it was free for them so to do, no man having power to require their appearance? And whether a Contract made by such Persons as were  
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at liberty before, can debar those that shall succeed them in the next Generation from the use of that Liberty their Ancestors had and enjoyed? If so, by what Law or Right are the said respective persons so concluded? and whence should that obligation spring? None of these things look like the dictates of the Law of Nature, and other Law besides that (according to our *Hypothesis*) when as yet there was no Government, there could be none. And the Contract it self, as a bare Contract, without the help of some Law or other to give it force, cannot operate upon any but the Contractors; it cannot have any cogency upon those that never gave consent thereunto.

XVIII. Besides these and I know not how many more Difficulties  
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no less insoluble, one thing there is which puzzleth the men of this opinion very much, and wherewith a man that were so disposed might make himself some sport: to wit, the Circle (between Property and Government) which they have conjured themselves into, and wherein they run round even unto Giddiness, (like men in a Maze or Labyrinth) not knowing which way to get out. That which some have said, because when they are put to it they must say something, viz. *That Dominion and Property is in order of Nature before Government*, be it true or be it false, as to their purpose signifieth nothing; unless it could be made out that they were before it in order of Time also. This Dispute is not much unlike that Problem in *Macrobius*, *Ovumne prius fuerit, an gallina?*

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*gallina?* Whether were first the Hen or the Egg? We cannot imagine there could be a Hen, but we must suppose there must have been an Egg first, out of which that Hen must have been hatched: neither can we imagine there could be an Egg, but we must suppose there must have been a Hen first, to lay that Egg. Semblably here, We cannot imagine Property, but we must suppose some Government first; because the Right which any man hath to that wherein he claimeth a Property must accrue to him by some Law, and that supposeth Government: Not can we imagine a Government, one of the principal ends whereof is the preservation of mens Properties who live together in one Society, but we must suppose there were first such Properties to

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be so preserved. True it is, that a meer Rationalist, (that is to say in plain English, an *Atheist of the late Edition*) who giveth more faith to such Heathen Philosophy as affirmeth the World to have been *ab aeterno*, than to Divine Revelation which assureth us it had a beginning; (and some of the great Champions of the opinion we now speak of, have given cause enough of suspicion that they are little better: ) such a one I say cannot possibly get out of the Circle, or solve the difficulty in either of the aforesaid Instances: But to us, who believe the Scriptures and acknowledge a Creation, the solution of both is equally easie. If we will but follow the Clue of the Sacred History in the four first Chapters of *Genesis*, it will fairly lead us out of these Labyrinths in



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a plain way, and without any great trouble. It is certain that God in the first Creation made all living Creatures, each in their kind, in the full state and perfection of their Nature, and thence we may conclude, that undoubtedly the Hen was before the Egg. And it is no less certain, that as soon as *Adam* was created, God gave to him as an universal Monarch, not onely Dominion over all his fellow Creatures that were upon the face of the Earth, but the Government also of all the inferiour World, and of all the Men that after should be born into the World so long as he lived; so as whatsoever Property any other Persons afterwards had or could have in any thing in any part of the World, (as *Cain* and *Abel*, 'tis well known, had their Properties

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in several, and distinct either from other) they held it all of him, and had it originally by his gift or assignment, either immediately or mediately. Whence we may also conclude, both in *Hypothesis*, that *Adam's* Government was before *Cain's* Property; and in *Thesis*, that undoubtedly Government was before Property. And we have great reason to believe that after the Flood the sole Government was at first in *Noah*, and whatsoever either Property in any thing they possessed in several, or share in the Government over any part of the World afterward any of his Sons had, they had it by his sole allotment and Authority, and transmitted the same to their Posterity meerly upon that account, without awaiting the Election or consent of, or entering  
into

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into any Articles or Capitulations with the People that were to be governed by them. Those words in *Gen. 10. 32.* seem to import as much, *These are the families of the sons of Noah in their generations after their nations: and by them were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.* And so this supposed Pact or Contract, which maketh such a noise in the World, proveth to be but a Squib, Powder without shot, that giveth a Crack, but vanisheth into Air and doth no execution.

XIX. That last from the *ill timing* of the Publication, is so poor an Objection that it is scarce worth the answering. Subjection and Obedience to Superiours, besides that they are duties of perpetual obligation, equally with all those mentioned together with

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them in that fore-cited passage of the Apostle, *Tit.* 3. 1, 2. are also (as hath been said) of so great publick concernment otherwise; and withall so little looked upon as Duties by the most of men, that the pressing upon the Peoples Consciences the performance thereof, whether by Word or Writing, cannot with any pretence of Reason be deemed unseasonable at any time. Nor hath the great mercy of God vouchsafed to these Nations in the happy, and little less than miraculous Restauration of our gracious Sovereign to his Fathers Throne, or the general alacrity of our People in owning his Sovereignty, rendred the Truths in this Treatise asserted any whit less necessary to be taught and known as the Times now are, than in the Times of our late sad Troubles

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bles and Distractions. As will be easily yielded by all such, as either have diligently observed the temper and carriage of the most active men of these Times, or shall duly take into consideration (amongst many other things which might be added) these few ensuing particulars:

1. The desperate Principles and Resolutions of *Quakers*, *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, and other Enthusiastick Sectaries, of what denomination soever, who utterly refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy; and what multitudes in a few years, for want of timely coercion, they are increased into in all parts of the Land.

2. How strangely some of those that have taken the said Oath (and they a far more considerable Party than the former) do yet seek to

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mince it, by such an interpretation of the word *Onely*, as quite destroyeth the force of it, and leaveth a gap open for any rebellious attempt to enter, that shall offer so to do.

3. That the Ministers of that Party, who in their Prayers before and after Sermon do not usually shew themselves over-studious of Brevity, are generally observed when they pray for the King, (whether for fear of offending their Grandees, or as a discriminating Character of *Shibboleth*, whereby to distinguish themselves from men of different Principles from them, or for whatever other reason it is) to omit in reciting his Majesties Royal Titles that Clause which in former and peaceable Times was generally used, [*---in all Causes and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical*

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*ftical as Temporal, in his Dominions;  
Supreme Governour. ]*

4. With what boldness some of the said Ministers do in their ordinary Prayers and Sermons openly asperse the King and his Government? and with what cunning other-some of them do covertly and glancingly inject suspicions into the minds and thoughts of their credulous Auditors concerning the same; by these means to beget in the People an opinion (to which the common sort are as easily persuaded as to any other thing in the World) that they are not so well governed as they should be? The old experimented Artifice by which *Abfalom* stole away the hearts of the People from their Allegiance.

5. What endeavours have been used, that the Encroachments  
made

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made upon the Regalities, by such advantages as the late Kings either necessities or condescensions ministred, should still continue? and that all publick actings from the beginning of the Long-Parliament till the Year 1648. (whereof it were a miracle if some, whilst the Dispute was so hot, were not illegal enough, and unprecedented) should be avowed and justified?

6. What a World of wicked Pamphlets, Sermons, and other Treatises full of most dangerous and seditious Positions have been sent abroad within these few last years, vented & dispersed through all the parts of the Kingdom, and lie still upon the Stalls and in the Shops free for any man that list to buy?

When all this, and some other things



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things (which, to avoid the provoking of some unpeaceable Spirits, I forbear to mention) are notorious of themselves, and sufficiently known to the whole Nation, let any man now say, if he can shew cause why it should be either unseasonable or unnecessary that Books should be published to assert the just Right and Power of Princes, and to re-mind the People of their bounden duty of Subjection and Obedience:

Let this learned Treatise then in the Name of God go forth and prosper, according to the pious intention of the Reverend Author now in peace, and the hearty desires and prayers of the Publishers: That Princes remembering from whom they have their Authority, may with all faithfulness exercise it to the honour and glory of him  
that

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that gave it, to the comfort, benefit and happiness of the People under ther Government, as the end for which it was given; and to the furtherance and advantage of their own Trial at that last great day, when they are to render an account for all the Power committed to their trust, and how they have administred the same. And that all Subjects, duly considering whose Authority their Princes have, may faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey them according to Gods holy Word and Ordinance. So shall Peace and Righteousness flourish upon Earth, and God shall send down his blessing both upon King and People from Heaven. Even so, *Amen.*

London, Dec. 31.  
MDCLX.

ROBERT Lincoln.

## PART I.

### *Of the Power communicated by God to the PRINCE.*

I. **T**Hat Question which our Saviour propounded touching *John's Baptism*, is most considerable in the point we have now in hand concerning Magistracy, \**Whence was it? from Heaven, or from Men?* For if the Authority of it shall be found to have no higher Spring than this Earth, the Streams of our Obedience will be raised to no higher a pitch than that Fountain: But if the descent thereof shall appear to be derived from Heaven, a † *necessity of subjection* to it will arise, *not for fear of punishment alone, but for Conscience sake*, and that duty which we owe unto God Almighty.

\* Mat. 21. 25.

† Δὲ ἀνάγκη  
ὑποτάσσειν τῷ  
κυρίῳ διὰ τὸ  
φείσασθαι, ἀλλὰ  
ἐκ διὰ τὸ συν-  
είδειν. Rom.  
1. 5.

II. That *John's Baptism* was *from Heaven*, we are sure, because || *the Word of God came unto him*, by virtue whereof he was \* *sent to baptize with Water*: the Baptism in that respect being not properly to be accounted his,  
but

|| Luke 3. 2.

\* John 1. 33.

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- but God's; and he onely to be esteemed God's Minister therein. Even so for Magistrates, our Saviour declareth that God was pleased to grace them
- \* John 10. 35. with his own name, because *\* the Word of God came unto them*, that is, his appointment and commandment; that they should rule in his name, and in his room. Whereupon they also are recommended
- † Rom. 13. 4, 6. unto us as *† God's Ministers*, and their judgments as his judgments; witness that Charge given to the Judges by
- || Deut. 1. 17. *Moses, || You shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's;*
- \* 2 Chron. 19. 6. and by King *Jehosaphat* after him, *\* Take heed what ye do, ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment.*
- † Luke 11. 49. And therefore as *† the wisdom of God said, I will send them Prophets* (among
- || Luke 7. 28. whom there was *|| none greater than John the Baptist;*) so the wisdom of the same
- \* Prov. 8. 15, 16. God also said, *\* By me Kings reign, and Princes decree justice; by me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the Earth.* All of them, whether supreme or subordinate, whether within or without Christ's Church: For unto all of them belongeth that divine Sentence delivered by S. Paul, *† Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there*
- is

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III. Neither doth St. Peter any whit  
fwerve from his \*beloved brother Paul, \* 2 Pet. 3. 15.  
and the wisdom given unto him, when he

III. Neither doth St. Peter any whit  
 swerve from his *\* beloved brother Paul*, \* 2 Pet. 3. 15.  
 and *the wisdom given unto him*, when he  
 requireth us † *to submit our selves to every* † *ὑποτάσσασθαι παντί*  
*Ordinance of man*, or (as the Original *wisdom* *ἀποστολῆς*  
 hath it) *to every humane creature, for the* *τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ θεοῦ* 1 Pet.  
*Lords sake*. Of which place we find di- 2. 13.  
 vers and various Expositions; the first  
 whereof, and not the worst, is that of  
 the old Syriack Interpreter, who thus  
 renders it, *Be subject to all the sons of*  
*men for God*; or as the framers of our  
 Book of Common Prayer (in the Epistle  
 appointed to be read the third Sunday  
 after Easter) seem to have expressed it,  
*Submit your selves [to] every man for the*  
*Lords sake*; taking man there *κατ' ἐξου-*  
*σίαν*, for a man in authority, as in Gen.  
 9. 6. For the clearer understanding  
 whereof we are first to note, that the  
 Writers of the New Testament being  
 Jews, do ordinarily frame their Greek  
 according to the usage of their own  
 Language; and that the Hebrews do  
 usually design *mankind* by the name of  
*אדם*, which in his proper significa-  
 tion

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tion denoteth the *creatures* of God in general, but is by them in a peculiar manner appropriated to man, the noblest of the rest. Among the innumerable examples which might be produced out of the Rabbins for the proof of this, I will make choice of this one Sentence of Rabbi Jeremiah (one of their ancient Doctors) recited in *Rabba bar Nachman* \* in his great Gloss upon *Deuteronomy* for the matters sake, which may otherwise serve also unto the purpose which we have now in hand,

אין בראשית דן המלך מלאהקדוש ברוך הוא.  
*No creature may judge the King but the holy and blessed GOD alone.* So answerable to this in the New Testament *St. Mark* doth thus express the tenor of the Commission given by our Saviour to his Apostles, *Go into all the World, and preach the Gospel † to every creature:* and *St. Paul* declareth the execution thereof, that the Gospel was accordingly preached to *every creature which is under Heaven*; the word *κτίσις*, or *creature*, in both places denoting *man* onely.

IV. Next, it is to be observed, that to those general terms which are applied in a special manner to the more excellent sort of the same kind, for better

זכריות רבנן  
 Seder.  
 קדוש  
 Page 196. b.  
 edit. Cracov.

† Πάντα κτίσις  
 κτίσις, Mark  
 16, 15.

‡ Ἐν παντί κτίσις  
 κτίσις, Col.  
 1, 23.

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ter distinctions sake it is not unusual to add an Epithet, whereby the restriction thereof to the intended particular may be more clearly understood. Take for example the word נפש, or *soul*, the native signification whereof in the Hebrew Tongue (and so of ψυχή in the Greek answering thereunto) neither descendeth so low as to comprehend the *vegetables* under it; nor riseth so high, that of it self it should only denote the *rational*; but in the middle kind of way betwixt both, properly doth signifie that which the Greeks call ζῷον, the Latines *Animal*, a Creature endued with life and sense: that of the Latines being more immediately imported by the word נפש it self, which is *anima*; the other of the Greek by the Adjective μιν *living*, which for further explication sake we \*Sometimes find adjoined to it. Yet we see withall, that נפש אדם, or by way of excellency, *Man* in particular is presented unto us by those generals, both of *living*, (as when Eve is said to be † *the mother of all living*) and of *soul*; a name whereby he is as ordinarily set out unto us by || the holy Writers, as he is by בריה or

\* Gen. 9. 10.  
Lev. 11. 16.  
which Rev.  
16. 3. is ψυχή  
ζῷον.

† Gen. 3. 20.  
|| Gen. 35. 6.  
Exod. 12. 16.  
Num. 19. 13,  
22. Deut. 10.  
22. (with Act.  
7. 14.) Jer. 43.  
6. 1 Pet. 3. 20.  
and in that  
very place  
Rom. 13.

Let every soul (that is, every man) be subject to the higher powers.

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*Creature*, by the Rabbins. But as the word צבא being in it self indifferent to signifie \* both *Man* and *Beast*, is sometimes for better distinction sake accompanied with the addition of † נפש which is as much as נפש אנושית, or an *humane soul*; so the more general word *creature*, being applied the same way, might very well here be thought to have the Adjective *humane*, conjoined with it; though for the matter nothing at all were thereby added unto it, the one word being onely an explication of the other.

V. Lastly, it may be considered, that sentences delivered in general terms, are not always intended to be taken in their full latitude, but to have their commodious restrictions, according to the quality and nature of the matter in hand: as not to go further, in this self-same Chapter of *St. Peter*, we are required || 1 Pet. 2. 17. to || *honour all men*; where yet we are not to think the Apostle meant, that Masters were tied to honour their Servants, or would any way oppose that which by *David* was delivered for a Character of Gods child, \* *In whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honou-*



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honoureth them that fear the Lord: but as Cajetan expoundeth the place, Honour all men, that is, <sup>\* unumquemq;</sup> <sup>secundum gra-</sup> <sup>dam & ordi-</sup> <sup>nem. Caj. in</sup> <sup>1 Pet. 2. 17.</sup> every one according to his degree and merit. As therefore that general Rule of his must be limited by that special explication thereof delivered by St. Paul, † Give to all men † Rom. 13. 7. their due, honour to whom honour is due: so likewise this other precept of subjecting our selves to all men, must receive the same restriction; as if it had been said, be subject to all men to whom subjection is due, and that for God, and the conscience of the duty you owe unto him, who hath put you in subjection under them. Which differeth very little from the Exposition given by Bede here, || Every humane creature, he saith, meaning every dignity of men, every person, every principality, to which the Divine Ordinance would have us subject; for that is it which he intendeth by saying for God, because there is no power but from him alone.

|| *Omni humane creature, dicit, omni dignitati hominum, omni personae, omni principatus, cui nos divina dispositio subditi voluerit: hoc est*

*enim quod ait, propter Deum, quia non est potestas nisi à Deo. Beda in 1 Pet. 2. Subditi estote omni humane creature, i.e. omnibus hominibus nobis prepositis. Haymo in Rom. 13.*

VI. David Pareus (although otherwise no very great friend to the Su-

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preme

† *Κριτωρ* appellatio ad Deum primum auctorem nos vocat. Et si enim Magistratus creari, hoc est, ordinari etiam ab hominibus dicuntur, tamen eorum creator primus propriè est solus Deus, cui soli omnis creatio primo competit.

D. Pareus in Appendice Commentar. ad cap. 13. ep. ad Rom. dubio 3.

preme power of Kings) yet putteth us here in mind, that the † word *κρίσις* used in this Text, doth lead us to the consideration of God, the prime Author of Magistracy: For though Magistrates (thus his words run) are said to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet their first creator properly is God alone, unto whom onely all creation primarily doth appertain. For the fuller explication of which conception, these observations following may be taken into consideration; First, that this word *κρίσις* doth signifie either a Creation or a Creature; by both which the holy Writers (whose manner of speaking is here more to be respected than the language of any other Authors) do expresse the work, not of any mortal man, but of the Almighty and ever-living God: For him alone, as the prime efficient of all, the Scripture honoureth with the stile of Creator; and the answerable effect both of Creation, as *motus*, and Creature, as *res motu facta*, it ascribeth to him alone.

VII. Secondly, That this in the Scripture is not restrained to the first creation of all things onely, but extended likewise to the works of Gods providence, whether wrought by himself immediately,

mediately, or by the intervention of other secondary causes. So the propagation of the *species* by the means of natural generation is accounted a continued creation; \* and Gods blessings \* Psal. 102. 18. and judgments upon Mankind, though & 104. 30. others be used as his instruments in the Ezek. 21. 30. effecting thereof, are said by him likewise & 28. 13, 15. to be created, † *I form the light*, saith he, † Esay 45. 7. and create darkness; *I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.* || *I have created the Smith that bloweth* || Esay 54. 16 *the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work: and I have created the waster to destroy.* In which sense also the Son of Syrach affirmeth \* *Husbandry* \* Γεωργίαν ἔσθ' ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐκτίσθη τὴν γῆν. vlu. Eccclus. 7. 16. *to be created by the most High;* both because the thing it self was at first ordained by him, and for the necessary upholding thereof by the industry of the Husbandman, † *his God doth instruct* † Esay 21. 16. *him and doth teach him.*

VIII. Thirdly, that St. Peter by every humane creature intendeth to signifie here, not things, but persons; as is manifest by the division subjoined, *whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, &c.* for the expressing whereof, the term of *creature* is far more proper than either that of *creation*, or that of *ordinance*.

IX. *Fourthly*, That as man, who by Gods ordinance was appointed to have

\* Gen. i. 26. :8.

*Sanctius his animal, mentisq;  
capacius altæ*

*Deerat adhuc, & quod domi-  
nari in cætera posset;*

*Natus homo est. Ovid. Met.*

\* Το ἡγ. εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεύει  
ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἄρχει, καὶ  
ἐξουσιάζει πάντων ὧν ἐν ὕ-  
δασι, καὶ τῇ γῇ, καὶ τῷ ὁ ἀν-  
θρώπῳ, καὶ ἄρχει, καὶ βασι-  
λεύει πάντων ὧν ἐν  
ἐπιγείῳ πελάγεσσι, καὶ  
ἐν τελευτῇ ὁ βούλεται ποιῇ  
ταῦτα, καὶ δάτω δὲ Θεός. Au-  
thor. quæst. 55. in Script.  
tomo 2. oper. Athan. p.  
334. edit. Commelinian.

|| Εἰκὼν εἶ τῆς Θεοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα  
διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Thou  
art the image of God, and  
the image of God dost  
thou also lead and govern,  
saith Gregory Nazianzen to  
the President of his Coun-  
try. Orat. 17. ad civ s timore  
personas.

\* Psal. 8. 6.

\* dominion over the other  
creatures, hath by way of ex-  
cellency (as we have heard)  
the name of *κτίσις*, or *creature*,  
attributed unto him, as bear-  
ing therein a peculiar stamp  
of the image of his Creator;  
So among men themselves,  
such as by Gods appointment  
are advanced to the dignity  
of bearing rule over others,  
by like proportion may in a  
more special manner have  
the word *creature* appropria-  
ted unto them, as carrying a  
deeper impression of this  
|| image, and likewise of their  
Creator, by that power wch  
it hath pleased him to grant  
to them, even over those to  
whom \* *over the other works  
of his hands he hath given do-  
minion.*

X. *Fifthly*, That such a creature may  
very properly for distinctions sake ob-  
tain the name of *ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις*, as  
Gods especial creature among and over  
men. For as \* *every Priest taken from*

\* Heb. 5. 1.

among

## The Power of the Prince.

11

among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins; so every Civil Magistrate also taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to men, \* that they may lead a quiet and † 1 Tim. 2.2. peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.

Whereupon the full meaning of the Apostle Peter in this place should be, Submit your selves to every creature, or to every † man, who is a creature constituted by God among and over men; for the Lords sake, whose creature he is in that place of Authority.

† Which kind of Enallage, whereby an Adjective is put substantively, hath been observed

In St. Peter not unusual, as namely in the second Verse of this Chapter, we translate τὸ λογικὸν γάλα, the milk of the word, or the word which is milk; and in the seventh Verse of the Chapter following, οἷς ἀδυναστεῖα δοῦν τὸ γυναικείον ἀποκρίμασθαι τιμῶν, giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker Vessel.

XI. Calvin\*, Beza†, and other of our later Interpreters, do thus far also deliver their opinion, that the order of civil Government is here called an humane ordinance, not because men invented it, but because it is proper to men; or (if you will have it in Parens his ex-

\* Humana dicitur ordinatio, non quod humanitus inventa fuerit, sed quod propria hominum est digesta & ordinata vivendi ratio. Calvin in 1 Pet. 2.13.

† Humanam vocat, non quod humanitus sit excogitata, (est enim hæc quoque donum Dei præclarum, ut Demosthenes etiam ipse testatur) sed quod hominum sit propria, ut recte

observat doctissimus Interpres. Beza in eundem locum.

pression)

¶ *Humanam ordinationem vocat Apostolus magistratum, non causaliter, quod sit ab hominibus excogitata, & hominum tantum libidine inuenta; sed subjective, quia ab hominibus geritur; & objective, quia circa gubernationem humane societatis versatur; & denique τελικῶς quia ad hominis bonum & conversationem humane societatis à Deo est constituta.* D. Pareus in Append. Comment. in Rom. 13. dub. 3.

pression) || the Apostle calleth Magistracy *an humane ordinance or creation*, not *causally*, as if it were devised by men, or brought in onely by the fanſie of men; but *subjectively*, because it is administred by men; and *objectively*, because it is exercised about the Government of humane Society; and *finally*, in respect of the end, because it is appointed by God for the good of man, and the preservation of Humane Society.

XII. But let us admit too, that it were so called *an humane ordinance* causally; because the particular Forms of Government were instituted by the choice and counsel of man, and the particular Form of the Creation of the Governours were in mans appointment; as if the Apostle had said, *Submit your selves unto your Governours, by what ordinance or humane creation soever they do hold that Government, whether by Succession, Election, or howsoever; yet, when with the very same breath he requireth this subjection to be performed*

formed διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, for God, or the Lords sake, he doth clearly intimate, that God is to be acknowledged the principal, though man be the instrumental cause of their Institution.

XIII. The Ministers of the Gospel, we see, receive their Ordination from mans hand, and are appointed over their several Flocks by mans election; and yet it is most true withall, that \* God \* 1 Cor. 12. 28. bath set them in the Church, † Christ bath † Eph. 4. 11. given them, and || over all the Flock the || Acts 20. 28. Holy Ghost bath made them overseers: With whom our Saviour having promised \* to be alway, even unto the end of \* Mat. 28. 20. the world, as he was at the beginning with those first Master-builders, which were Apostles † not of men, neither by † Gal. 1. 1. man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father; that which he speaketh of the first appertaineth no less unto the last, || He that heareth you heareth me, and he || Luke 10. 16. that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me. 20. with Joh. 13.

XIV. The Wife, we know, maketh choice of her Husband, and the mutual consent of the Parties makes up the Matrimony; yet \* God it is that joineth \* Mat. 19. 6. them both together: and the conjunction being once made, the Wife by vertue there-

\* Eph. 5. 22. thereof standeth bound to \* *submit her self unto her own Husband as to the Lord.* And as God by saying to our first Mother *Eve*, † *Thy desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall rule over thee,* (as the Apostle out of that Law infers) † Gen. 3. 16. commanded women to || *be in subjection,* and thereby established an Headship in every single Family : So after the posterity of *Eve* began to be distinguished into Families, the same God, by using the like speech to *Cain* concerning his brother *Abel*, \* *Unto thee shall be his desire*, † *and thou shalt rule over him*, may seem to have constituted a principality in one man over divers Families, and thereby laid the foundation of Political Government; the Kingdom (as it appeareth by the || ordinary practice of the succeeding Times) together with the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of Power, the two peculiar characters thereof) being an honour that descended upon the first-born, and not upon the younger Brother.

|| Gen. 49. 3.  
2 Chron. 21. 3.

\* Gen. 4. 7.  
† Vide D. Hein-  
fii Exercitat.  
sacr. l. 7. c. 8. in  
1 Cor. 11. 10.

XV. Although it may not be denied, but that (without any such special direction) the very *light of Nature* would have enforced men at first to conjoin many Families into one Body of a civil Society,



Society, and to submit themselves to the Government of some Superiour: For, otherwise a dissolution of Mankind would quickly ensue, and all come to ruine. To this purpose among the Hebrews that of Rabbi Hananiah, one of their chief Priests, is much remembered,

\* *Pray for the peace (or prosperity) of the Kingdom; for if it were not for fear of Authority, every one would swallow down quick his neighbour:* Which is but an explication of that which a far better Author long before delivered touching the Babylonian Monarchy, (which was adverse to the Religion of the Jews as that under which Hananiah lived;)

† *Seek the peace of the City, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.* For the Christians you may hear St. Chrysostom speak,

|| *Take away the higher Powers, and all goes to wreck; neither will City nor Countrey, nor Family, nor Assembly, nor ought else stand; the stronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upside down.* And Cicero, if you please, for

ἢ καὶ ἀνέλεος τὰς ἀρχάς, πάντα οἰκίσαι. ἢ ὅτι πλεον, ἢ χεῖρα, ἢ οἰκία, ἢ ἀρχή, ἢ ἄλλο· δὲν εἴσεται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀναστροφῆται, ὥς δυνατοτέρων τοὺς ἀδυνατοτέρους καταπνύσαν. Chrysost. in ep. ad Rom. hom. 23. tom. 3. edit. Savil. p. 191. Vide etiam tom. 1. p. 905.

tom. 4. p. 601. tom. 6. p. 502.

the

\* *Sine imperio* the Heathen, \* *Without Government nei-*  
*nec domus ulla,* ther House, nor City, nor Nation, nor  
*nec civitas, nec* Mankind, nor Nature, nor the World it  
*gens, nec homi-* self could consist.  
*num universum*  
*genus stare, nec*  
*rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* Cic. 3. de Legib. in initio.

\* *Canſtas na-*  
*tiones & urbes,*  
*aut populum, aut*  
*primores, aut*  
*ſinguli regunt.*  
 Tacit. Annal.  
 lib. 4.  
 Ἀνάγκη δ' ἢ  
 κρείον ἢ ἕνα, ἢ  
 ὀλίγους, ἢ πάν-  
 τας. Arist.  
 Polit. lib. 3.  
 cap. 5.

XVI. True it is, that in ſeveral States there are admitted ſeveral Forms of Government, the Supreme Authority being \* ſomewhere placed in the perſon of one, which maketh a *Monarchy*; otherwhere in ſome of the chief, which they call an *Ariſtocracy*; and ſome-where in the whole body of the People, from whence ariſeth a *Democracy*. Likewise of *Monarchs* themſelves, ſome come in by *election*, ſome by hereditary *ſucceſſion*: And in all theſe Governments the ſubordinate Magiſtrates are raiſed, either by the immediate appointment of the Supreme, or by the election of ſuch Perſons or Corporations as they are pleaſed to communicate that power unto.

XVII. If this be ſo, and that Nature ſeeketh always to preſerve it ſelf, we may juſtly conclude, that Magiſtracy is rooted in the *Law of Nature*, and ſo in the Author of Nature, that is, God himſelf. To which purpoſe, for the general,

ral, it is noted by *Plutarch*, That \* a Governour politick is by nature always the Prince of the Common-wealth, as the Master-Bee is amongst the Bees: and by *Aristides*, That † all Governours are by nature superiour to those that are under their command; that || this is a Law set by Nature, that the inferiour should yield obedience to the superiour; and if any man should account the abrogation of this Law to be a sign of liberty, he did deceive himself; \* the Law of Nature being hereby inverted, which requireth us to yield unto the eminency of our superiours, and to live according to the direction of our Governours. And for the Regal Authority in particular, *Seneca* doth tell us, That † Nature did first find out a King: *Polybius*, That || without any art, and by the guidance of Nature it self a Monarchy was first of all constituted. *Diotogenes* the Pythagorean, That .: of those which by nature are most honourable, the best indeed is God, but upon earth, and among men, the King: Yea, and *Aristo-*

\* "Οτι ἀξιοῖς μεταβάλλειν τὸ εὐσυνεπὲς νόμον. ὅς κελεύει τὸν κρείττονα ὑποκυλῶν ἀνέχασθαι, καὶ ὅτι οὗτος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. Id. in Orat. de Paraphr. thegm. tom.3. p. 74. † Natura commenta est regem. Senec. de Clem. l.1.c.19 || Πρώτη μὲν ἐν ἀναστασιδὶ καὶ συσπικῶς συνίσταται μοναρχία. Polyb. Hist. lib. 6. Τῶν μὲν εὐσυνεπῶν πτωχῶν αἰεὶ οὗ ὁ Θεός. τὸ δὲ καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ βασιλεύς. Diotog. apud Stob. Ierm. 46.

\* *ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* *the himself too, That* \* *by nature not onely*  
*αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* *the Father hath the rule over his Children,*  
*καὶ τὸν βασιλῆα* *but also the King over those who are with-*  
*αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βασιλῆα* *in his Kingdom.*  
*καὶ τὸν βασιλῆα* *Arist. Ethic. Nicomach: lib. 3. cap. 13.*

XVIII. But however in the Constitution of these, Mans hand may be an instrument, yet being once constituted, whether supreme or subordinate, in all of them we must respect the Commission received by them from the founder of all rule, authority and power at the beginning, and \* the resumer thereof into his own hands again at the end of the World; both because † *we make those things our own unto which we impart our authority*; and because in all power established upon earth there is represented unto us an image and superscription of that high eminency which is in him whom St. Paul || worthily glorifieth with the stile of *The blessed and ONELY Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; who ONELY hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting.* In which words it is not unworthy our observation, that the Apostle

\* 1 Cor. 15. 24.  
 † *Omnia nostra facimus quibus auctoritatem nostram impartimur.* Gloss.  
 in c. 1. extr. de præsumpt.  
 & c. 1. de transactionib.  
 ex illo Justin. Imp. in c. de vet. jur. enunt.  
 l. 1. *Omnia merito nostra facimus, quia ex nobis omnis eis impartietur auctoritas.*  
 || 1 Tim. 6. 15, 16.

He nameth him the *onely Potentate*, in the same sense that he saith, he *onely hath immortality*. For, as Angels and the souls of men have immortality indeed, yet not originally from themselves, but by his donation who onely hath it absolutely in himself, without dependence upon any other: so are there other *Potentates* also, yet such as hold of him in chief, who hath onely all fulness of power in himself, and distributeth what proportion thereof he thinketh meet to those whom he hath entrusted with the Government of this World; according to the acknowledgment of King David, \* *Thine, O Lord, is the* \* 1 Chron. 29. *greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the Majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.* 12, 13.

XIX. Why the Woman ought to cover her head (that is, her † face) in the † As in Jer. 13. 3, 4. Esth. 6. 12. and 2 Sam.

14. 30. with chap. 19. 21. *Mitris & lanis quadam non velant caput, sed configant; à fronte quidem protecta, qua proprie autem caput est, nuda.* Tertul. de veland. virgin. cap. ult.

Assem-

- Assembly, and not the man, St. Paul giveth this for a reason, \* *The man is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man.* If we respect either those inward perfections wherewith God endowed the soul at the beginning, † as *knowledge* in the Mind, || *righteousness and true holiness* in the Will; or that outward dominion which God granted to Mankind over the other Creatures; it cannot be denied but male and female both were created by God ∴ *in his own image.* But if we consider them as they stand in mutual relation one unto the other, or as they are heads of the œconomical Government; the man, being \* *head of the woman*, is the immediate image and glory of God, but the woman is the image and glory of the man, deriving all her power and splendor from him, as the Moon doth from the Sun, according to that of *Justinian*, † *The Wives receive lustre from their Husbands rays*: and those solemn words which the women of *Rome* were taught to use at their Nuptials, *Ubi tu Caius ego Caia*, in effect this, || *Where thou art Master, there am I to be Mistress.*

† Αἱ γυναῖκες  
σωμαλάμπουσιν  
τῷ ὄφει σωμα-  
κρίων ἀκρίως,  
ὅπου αὐταὶ εἰς  
νόμον διδασκόμεναι.  
Justin. Novel.  
105.

|| Ὅπου σὺ κύριος  
ἐγώ οἰκονομῶ.  
ἐκείνης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκονομοῦμαι.

Plurarch in quæstionib. Romanis.

XX. So

XX. So, (to rise higher than Household-Government) God in Scripture is made \* the head of all principality and power; both of the † principalities and powers in heavenly places, whose ministry he useth in the invisible, and of the || principalities and powers here below, whose labours he imployeth in the visible administration of the things of this World: unto both of which therefore he is pleased to impart as well his own name, as the title of his own children.

For as Angels, \* the chief Princes, (invested with the † glory and || power of God) are stiled . Gods, and the \* sons of God; so the Princes and Judges of the Earth have frequently the title of † Gods in holy Writ: And in one place, of Gods, and the sons

of God both together, Psal. 82. 6. I have said, Ye are Gods, and all sons of the most High. Which in the Chaldee Paraph. is thus rendred; Behold, ye are reputed as Angels, and all of you as it were Angels of the most High. Such affinity in this respect there is || between those celestial

\* Spirits, sent forth to minister for them

\* Dan. 10. 13. † Luke 2. 9.  
|| Μετ' ἀγγέλων ἀνδράνων  
ἀνθρώπων. 2 Thess. 1. 7.  
. Psal. 8. 5. with Heb. 2. 7.  
and Psal. 97. 7. with Heb.  
1. 6.  
\* Job 1. 6. and 2. 1. and  
38. 7.  
† Exod. 21. 6. and 22. 8, 9;  
28. Psal. 82. 1.

|| V. Epiphani.  
hæres. 40. edit.  
Graecol. p. 184.

\* Ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀποστόλους διακονήσαντας τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Heb. 1. 14.

G

who

\* 2 Sam. 19.

27.

† Θεῶν ὅς δὲ διὰ  
κοινῆς ἐστὶ σοὶ  
εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.

Rom. 13.4

|| Λειτουργοὶ ὅς  
Θεῶ ἐστὶν, εἰς  
αὐτὸ τὸ το  
σοῦχος ἐστὶν  
τις.. Ὑπερεῖαν  
δοῦ τὸ βασι  
λεῖν ἡγεῖται  
ϛ. Plutarch.

in Numa.

\* Ὑπερεῖαν

δοῦ σοῦς ἀν-

δράπων ἐπιμέ-

λειαι καὶ σωτηρίαν. ὅπως ἂν εἶδες διδόναι ἀνθρώποις καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, τὰ

μὲν νέμωσι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττουσι. Id. ad principem indoctum.

who shall be heirs of salvation, and those  
terrestrial \* Angels of God, who are † his  
Ministers to us for good; even || Gods  
Ministers continually attending upon this  
very thing, as St. Paul witnesseth. With  
whom among the Heathen also Plutarch  
agreeth fully, where he maketh the Go-  
vernment of a Kingdom to be . a mini-  
stration of God, and affirmeth Magistrates  
to \* be Gods Ministers for the care and  
welfare of mankind, either in the distribu-  
tion of good things not yet had, or in the  
preservation of good things not yet en-  
joyed.

XXI. Now these higher Powers un-

1 Pet. 2. 13, 15. to whom it is \* the will of God we should

submit our selves for his sake, are distin-  
guished by St. Peter into two ranks, the  
Supreme and the Subordinate; the

† Egregium culmen habentem,  
as Didymus Alexandrinus  
here noteth, Ἐπ' ἄλλοις δ'  
ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δὲ ἕνα  
κορυφαῖα βασιλεύει. Pind.  
Olymp. 1. sup. fin.

|| Περόντες τὸ τ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
μεγίστῳ ἀρχῆς ἀξιοδότηι αἰ-  
ρεῖσθαι διαδύχους, οἱ σωτῆρες  
καὶ σωτῆρες, καὶ τ' ἄλλα  
δοῦ καὶ γὰρ τῇ σωτῆρι καὶ σωτῆρι.

King †, the supreme; the  
subordinate, such Governours  
as are sent by him for the pu-  
nishment of evil doers, and the  
praise of them that do well:  
Sent by the King, I mean,  
it being the || office of him that

Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

hath



hath the highest and greatest place of Government, to chuse such assistants as shall rule together with him in the administration of those things which belong to the publick utility; so saith Philo: and after him Libanius to the Emperour of his

Time, \* Indeed, if it were possible that your own bodies might be every where, there would be no need that any Magistrates should be sent by you into the Provinces, you your selves being able to administer justice unto all, as the Sun is sufficient to give light unto them: but seeing that cannot be, you govern them by others, and by their sentence you do determine justice.

Which made S. Paul profess before Festus the Governour, sitting at *Cæsarea* upon the Bench, that he stood (not at his, but) at † *Cæsars* † Acts 25, 5, 10. Judgement-seat; the other supplying his room onely in that present place of Judicature. The Compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions (personating those Times wherein the Civil Government stood opposite to the Christian Faith) doth thus expresse this distribution; || *Thou*

\* Εἰ μὲν ἐν οἷον τὸ πᾶν ταχὺ τὰ ὑμῶν σώματα, τοὶ ἀρχόντων ἂν αὐτῶν ἔδει ᾧ ὅτι τὰ ἔθνη παρ' ὑμῶν πημπούτων, ἀποσπῶν μὲν τοὺς διαζωμῶσις ἀποχρῶντων, ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς ἡλίου λαμπρότης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸτο ἔχοντες δὲ, δι' ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφεινήατε, διὰ τὸ ἐκείνων γνώμης ὑμῶν τοὺς ἰσχύς τίθετε. Libanius in orat. xxi. ᾧ περὶ τῶν τῶν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν.

τῶν γὰρ Θεοῦ, ἐκείνοις γινώσκουσιν ἀδικίας. Const. Apostol. l. 7. c. 17.

\* Intercedere  
iniquitatibus  
magistratum,  
infestumque  
reddere quic-  
quid fieri non  
oportuerit. Plin.  
Panegyric. ad  
Trajan.

† Δίχῳ δὲ ἢ  
μὲν ἀρχὴ νόμου  
καὶ ἀνδράπων  
δοικησις καὶ  
νόμος. Βασι-  
λεία δὲ ἀνυπε-  
δυνὸς ἀρχὴ  
δὲ νόμου βα-  
σιλείας δόγμα.  
Ὁ δὲ τίς ἐστιν,  
καὶ ἢ τῶ ἐναντί-  
ου κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα.  
Βίαια καὶ πα-  
ρὰ νόμον καὶ ἡ-  
συχία ἀνδράπων  
τῶ δοκῶν  
ἰσχύει πλείον.  
Dio Chrysost.  
in Orat. 3. de  
Regno. ubi vo-  
cabuli δοκῶντος  
usum pleonasti-  
cum recte ob-  
servat vir do-  
ctissimus Joan-

nes Pricrus: ut etiam in loco illo Marc. 10. 42. Οἱ δοκῶντες ἀρχεῖν τῷ Ἰησοῦ,  
pro quo Mat. 20. 25. simpliciter legitur, οἱ ἀρχεῖντες ὅτι ἔσονται.

shalt fear the King, considering that he is  
the election (or ordinance) of the Lord:  
thou shalt honour his Magistrates as the  
Ministers of God, for they are revengers  
of all iniquity. Where for St. Peters  
ἡγούμενος, it is observable that he useth  
the word ἀρχόντες, which in the singu-  
lar commonly denotes the Prince, in  
plural, Magistrates: a term which in  
the propriety of the Latine Tongue be-  
longs to subaltern Officers, and doth not  
comprehend the Prince himself, whose  
office it is to \*redress the unjust actions  
of the Magistrates, and to make void what-  
soever ought not to have been done by them.

And herein he seemeth to make the  
same distinction between Βασιλεία and  
Ἀρχόντες, the King and Magistrates, which  
Dio Chrysostomus doth between Βασιλεία  
and Ἀρχή; † Ἀρχή, or Magistracy is  
called a legal administration of men accor-  
ding to the Law; Βασιλεία, or Regality,  
is such a Government as is not subject to  
the controll of any. The Law is the de-  
cree of the King. A Tyranny, which is  
contrary to these, is a violent and illegal  
usage of men by one that is of greater  
strength.

XXII. For the clearer understanding whereof we may call to remembrance that difference which King *James* of never-dying memory, in the first Book of his *Basilicon Doron* (out of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, the great Masters of political learning,) doth make between a lawful *King* and a *Tyrant*: The words of that elegant Writer are to this effect, That the one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his People, having received from God a burthen of Government, whereof he must be accountable; the other thinketh his People ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity; and therefore that a good King, thinking his highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his Calling, imployeth all his Study and Pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execution of good Laws, the welfare and peace of his People.

XXIII. For the making of Laws, whereof the force and penalty doth generally reach unto the whole Kingdom, must be an Act of the Prince: and therefore where it is said, *Psal. 60. 7. Judah is my Law-giver*, the Greek and Vulgar Latine translate it, *Judah is my King*,  
G 3 agree-

agreeable to that in 1 Chron. 5. 2. Of

Judah came the Prince. For

\* to this end, saith Justinian,

God hath settled Regal Power

among men, that by ordering

upon all occasions such things

as are needful, it should both

supply the uncertainty of hu-

mane nature, and conclude it

within the bounds of certain

Laws. And St. Augustine to

the same purpose, † The di-

vine right we have in the Scri-

ptures, the humane right in the

Laws of Kings; || for humane

rights God hath distributed to

mankind by the Emperours and

Kings of this World, and this

∴ humane right is in the power

of the Kings of the earth. Hi-

therto also belongeth that of

Alexius Comnenus, \* The regal

Office is nothing else but a legal

administration of things: the

Law is that which preserveth

the indemnity of the Common-

wealth, removing far and ex-

pelling such things as are preju-

dicial to the civil State; and the power

of making the Laws is committed to the

King:

\* Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὸ το  
καθεῖναι εἰς ἀνθρώπους, ὅπως  
ἐν τοῖς θεομύθοις αἰεὶ π. δια  
τάξαι καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύ  
σιν ἀρξίσαν ἀναπληρῶν τῶν  
ἐν ταῖς ἀνθρώποις νόμοις τῶν  
Cod. de vet. jur. cnucl. 3.  
Græc.

† Divinum jus in Scripturis  
habemus, humanum jus in le-  
gibus Regum. August. in  
Joan. Tract. 6.

|| Ipsa jura humana per Impera-  
tores & Reges seculi Deus di-  
stribuit generi humano. Id. ib.

∴ Jus humanum in potestate  
regum est terra. Id. in Epist.  
48. ad Vincentium.

\* Μὴδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βασιλεία ἡ  
ἐννομὸς ἐπιστοία ἐστὶ, νό-  
μοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς  
τὴν ἀδικίαν, πρὸς τὴν ἀ-  
ποθέσειν τὰ τὸ πολιτικὸν  
καταλαβόντα, ἀνέται δὲ  
καὶ τὸ νομοθετεῖν βασιλεύον.  
Alex. Comnen. Novel. de  
solutione sponsalium.

King : and that of Plutarch long before him, \* *Justice is the end of the Law*, \* Δίκη νόμου  
the Law a work of the Prince, and the τὸ τέλος τῆς νό-  
Prince the image of God. The ἀρχὸν, or μὲν δὲ ἀρχον-  
Prince, makes the Laws, not to himself, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
but to his Subjects, (to whom he stand- θεῶ. Plutarch.  
eth no way accountable for his own not ad Principem  
observing any of them, as hereafter shall indoctum.

more fully be declared) the Ἀρχῶν  
judge and govern others according to  
the Prescript of those Laws, being them-  
selves also obnoxious to them as well  
as other Subjects. For

† *Magistrates are the Mini-  
sters. Judges the Interpreters of  
the Laws*, saith Tully : and  
|| *the Laws do govern the Ma-  
gistrates no less than the Ma-  
gistrates do the People*. To the

† Legum ministri magistratus,  
legum interpretes iudices,  
legum denique idcirco omnes  
servi sumus, ut liberi esse pos-  
sumus. Cicero pro A. Cluen-  
tione.

|| ut Magistratibus leges, ita  
populo presunt Magistratus.  
Idem in l. 3. de legibus.

Maker of the Law Dio ( in  
the place alledged ) attributes βασι-  
λείῃ, or regal Sovereignty, which by  
him (and ∴ Suidas out of him ) is defined ∴ Suidas in  
to be ἀνυποδύωμεν ἀρχή, a Government Βασιλεία.

without check, whereof no account  
is to be rendred unto any man : to  
the Ministers of the Law he ascribeth  
ἀρχῶ simply ; by which word like-  
wise the \* Scholiast of Aristophanes

\* Κοινότερον δὲ  
πᾶσι τοιαύτας  
φιλὰς ἐπιτασ-  
ας καὶ λειψυρίας  
ἀρχὰς ἔλεγον.  
καὶ τὸ βαλάντιον  
(i.e. jus dicere)

ἀρχαί. Schol. in Arist. Plut. p. 91. edit. Græcolat. anno 1607.

\* Suidas in  
Ἀρχαῖν.

† Καθ' ἐκείνῳ  
Βασιλείαν πολ-  
λὰν ἀρχαί, ἀλλ'  
ὅφ' ἐνα βασι-  
λέα. Epiph.  
contra Ar-  
chont. hæref.  
40.  
|| Num. 21. 18.  
.. Deut. 33. 4. 5.

(and \* Suidas also from him) observe  
the ministerial and inferiour Govern-

ment most usually to be understood;

for † in every Kingdom there are many

ἀρχαί, but under one King, saith Epiph-

nus. || The Princes digged the Well, the

Nobles of the People digged it by direction

of the Law-giver, with their Staves, was

a part of the Song of Israel: and ∴ Mo-

ses commanded us a law, even the inheri-

tance of the congregation of Jacob: and he

was King in Jeshurun, when the Heads of

the People and the Tribes of Israel were

gathered together. Here Moses is the

Law-giver and King in Israel: the

Princes and Heads of the Peo-

ple, those ἀρχόντες and ἀρχαί,

without which \* Aristotle so

oft tells us it is impossible

a Commonwealth can con-

sist. For, One man, saith

† Philo, though he have never

so much alacrity and vigour in

body and mind, cannot be suf-

ficient to undergo the greatness

and the multitude of the busi-

nesses which every day do flow

one upon the neck of another,

unless they have coadjutors, cho-

\* Εἰς γὰρ ἓκ ἂν Ἰσχυροί,  
καὶν πρῶτον πάντων  
πάντων ἑρμηνεύει· ἡ δὲ  
πρῶτον αἰτία καὶ ἰσχύς,  
τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλείονα τῶν πρῶ-  
των, ὅτι τῇ φορᾷ τῇ ἐπι-  
στροφῇ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἡμέ-  
ραν ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἄλλων, εἰ  
μὴ τοῦ συλλεγομένου ἐξο-  
πίσας ἀεικνύειν ἐπὶ πλε-  
ύρους φρονήσει, δυναμὶς, δι-  
καιοσύνη, διοικήσις τοῦ μὴ  
μόνον ἐκβέβηκε, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
μύστιν ὡς ἐλθεῖν καὶ μέγιστον  
κακόν, ἀλαστορίαν. Βον-  
δοὶ γὰρ τοῖς καὶ ἐξάσται γέ-  
νοιν' ἀνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀγα-  
θὴ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιχειρήσει,  
συνεπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐπιλαβεί-  
ζεν ὁ πᾶσι δυνάστης. Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

sen

sen all of them out of the best, men of known wisdom, courage, justice, piety; and who not onley are free from pride, but abhor it likewise, as an hateful and exceeding great evil: for such men are most fit helpers and assistants to a good and worthy Prince. For proof whereof he giveth an instance in Moses himself, who although he were a man \* mighty in words \* Acts 7.22. and in deeds, and going in this his might, (as God in † another place biddeth † Judges 6.14; Gideon to do) did for a time judge Israel all alone; yet meer necessity forced him in the end to profess unto the People, || I am not able to bear you my self || Deut. 1.9. alone: ∴ How can I my self alone bear ∴ Verse 12. your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your strife? whereupon \* he took the chief of \* Verse 15. thier Tribes, wise men and known, and with Exod. 18. 25. made them heads over the People, and Officers among their Tribes.

XXIV. And yet in his Wisdom foreseeing withall that these, as many as they were, could not be able to go thorow with the work, nor retain the People in due obedience, without the support of a Supreme Governour, before his departure out of this life he presenteth God with this Petition, † Let the Lord, † Num! 27.16, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man 17. over

## The Power of the Prince.

\* See 1 King.  
22. 17.

† Num. 27. 20.

|| Gen. 36. 31.  
with Deut. 33.  
5.

∴ Jos. 1. 16,  
17, 18.

\* Jos. 4. 14.

over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the Congregation of the Lord be not \* as sheep which have no shepherd : and God thereupon giveth order unto him, that he should † put some of his honour upon Joshua, that all the Congregation of the children of Israel might be obedient : which honour or regal Sovereignty (for || Moses had no less) how fully Joshua did enjoy after his decease, this profession then made by the People may sufficiently testifie; ∴ All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses, so will we hearken unto thee : onely the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be that doth rebell against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death : onely be strong and of a good courage. And this ratification thereof made by God himself not long after, \* On that day the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and they feared him as they feared Moses all the days of his life.

XXV. The Supreme Governour there-



therefore hath not more need of the subordinate Magistrate for his assistance, than they have of him to give them *life* and *motion*: no State being possibly able to subsist, unless a Supremacy of power be placed in some Head, from whence it may be derived through all the parts of the Body politic. A lively manifestation of this we have from the old \* *Persians*, who for five days together after the decease of their King, permitted the People to live Lawless; that after the experience of the slaughters, rapines, and other outrages committed in that short interval, they might learn to hold their Kings in more high esteem. Which bringeth some light to that which we meet with

so oft in the Book of *Judges*, and where-with the last Chapter of that sacred History is concluded, *In those days there was no King in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.* In the same Chapter we read that there were then † *the Elders of the Congregation* in the Commonwealth; and in the || Chapter going before, that zealous || *Judg. 20.28.*

\* Εὐτεθδεν καὶ οἱ Περσῶν χα-  
εἰνήτες νόμον ἔχουσι, βασι-  
λέως παρ' αὐτοῖς τελευτή-  
σαντος, πάντε τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἡ-  
μέρας ἀνομίαν ἀγειν· καὶ  
ἴσθ' ὅς δις συχέειν, ἀλλ'  
ἴσθ' ὅς ἐργω μαθεῖν ἠλί-  
κων κακόν ὅταν ἡ ἀνομία  
(σφαγὰς καὶ ἀρπαγὰς, καὶ ἐν  
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις) ἵνα  
πρότερον ὅλ' βασιλέων οὐ-  
λακας γένωνται. Sext. Emp.  
advers. Mathematic. l. 2. Vide  
et Serinum apud Stobaeum  
Serm. 42.

Phineas

## The Power of the Prince.

*Phineas* stood High-priest before the Ark in those days. But the want of a King, that is, of one that had the Supreme managing of the Sword of Justice, is assigned to be the cause of all this confusion and disorder; who being in the Scripture termed \* *the breath of our nostrils*, (as the great Army of *Alexander* doth profess to the same effect in *Curtius*, that † *they all did live by that one mans breath, or spirit*,) we may easily thence infer, That as in the natural Body, the breath being stopped, life can no longer be continued; so the power of the supreme Governour being taken away all vital influence into the rest of the Body Civil must cease therewith, and the whole State of necessity suffer a dissolution. And therefore as *Florus* writeth of the constitution of the

Roman Empire under *Cesar Augustus*, that || No doubt it could never have otherwise conjoined and consented together, unless it had been governed by the beck of one Ruler, as by a kind of soul and mind: So touching the continuation thereof *Seneca* in like manner addeth,

\* Lam. 4.20.

† *Armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confisus omnes unius spiritu vivere.*  
Q. *Curtius* l. 9. c. 11.

|| *Ad Octavium Cæsarem Augustum summa rerum rediit: qui sapientia sua atque solertia perculsum undique & perturbatum ordinavit Imperii corpus. Quod ita haud dubie nunquam coire & consentire potuisset, nisi unius præsidis nutu quasi anima & mente regeretur.* L. *Florus* l. 4. c. 3.

addeth, \* This infinite multitude which environs one mans soul, is by his spirit governed; and by his reason guided; which otherwise would oppress and break her self with her own force, if by his counsel she were not sustained. For, † he is the bond which holds fast the State together, he is that vital breath which so many thousands draw in; who otherwise as a liveless and unwieldy load would prove a booty, if that soul of the Empire were taken away.

\* Hec immensa multitudo unius anime circumdata, illum spiritum regitur, illius ratione flectitur; pressura se ac fractura viribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur. Seneca de Clementia l. 1. c. 3:

† Ille est enim vinculum, per quod Respublica coheret; ille spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot millia trahunt; nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus & praeda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur.

—Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est;

Amisso rupere fidem—

Id. lb. c. 4. Versus autem Virg. sunt, l. 4. Georg. de apibus, quorum sententiam hoc eodem libro c. 19. ita expressit idem Seneca, Amisso rege totum dilabitur examen.

The King being safe, one mind unites them all;

He gone, their league dissolveth, and they fall.

XXVI. Where further also it is to be considered, that the placing of the Supremacy of Civil Power (which the Latines call Majesty, the Gracians Κύριον πολιτοῦμα, κρείον ἀρχὴν, & ἀρχὴν ἐξουσίαν) in some certain Head, is so essential to all States of Government, that from it the formal difference ariseth of all the par-

particular kinds thereof. For, although in *Switzerland* (for example) the Cantons have their several Magistrates, who during the time of their Government order all things among the People, yet are they not an Aristocracy for all that, but a meer Democracy; because these Officers derive their Authority wholly from the People, and to them or their Deputies they are to give an account of the exercise thereof. And although in the Commonwealth of *Venice* there be but one Duke, yet be-

\* *Imperii summam vim ipsam nunquam habuit, sed imaginem tantum quandam & umbra imperii, plus minusve, pro temporum varietate.* Nic. Crass. Not. 15. in Donat. Jannot. de rep. Venet.

cause this person is not \*invested with the Supreme Power of Government, that State is nothing less than Monarchical. The *Lacedemonians* had two Kings (for

failing) and both of them hereditary, descending from the race of *Hercules*, and yet that hindered nothing at all their Aristocracy; because they being subject to the oversight and control of the *Ephori*, were but equivocal

\* As other inferior Princes likewise named. Esay 10. 8. Jer. 19. 3. Psal. 105.

30. So Eustathius in Homer. Odyss. α. Σημειώσται ὅτι ὁ μόνον Ὀμηρ. βασιλεὺς λέγει τὸν ἐνδοξόν καὶ βασιλικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν. Ἐκ Προκλῆος ἐν Hesiod. ἔργων α. βασιλῆας τὸν διγαστὸς καὶ τὸν ἀρχοντας λέγει. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκάλει οἱ παλαιοί.

Kings, such in † name, but not in deed. For, to speak pro-

perly,

perly, by the name of a King (as Gregory Nyssen noteth) we understand such an one as is \* his own Master, and hath no other Master beside; who hath † absolute power in himself, and is no way subject to the control of any other. And therefore when Anthony was so much pressed by his Cleopatra to call Herod unto question, he answered, || It was not fitting a King should give account of what he did in his Government, for he should be in effect no King at all.

\* Αὐτοκράτο-  
ρον ἢ ἀνά-  
σταντα. Greg.  
Nyssen, contra  
Eunom. l. 1.  
† Τὸ αὐτοκρά-  
τον. Ibid.  
|| Οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βα-  
σιλεὺς ὁ ἔχων Ἀντι-  
νόου βασιλείαν  
καὶ οὐκ ἔστι  
ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
κυβερνᾷς.

ἀναστῆναι \* ὅπως γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν βασιλείᾳ εἶναι. Joseph. Antiq. l. 15. c. 14.

XXVII. On the other side, in our High Court of Parliament, although the Knights, Citizens and Burgessees (representing the whole Body of the Commons) bear the shew of a little Democracy among us, and the Lords and Nobles (as the *Optimates* of the Kingdom) of an Aristocracy; yet our Government is a free Monarchy notwithstanding: because the supreme Authority resteth neither in the one nor in the other, (either severally or jointly) but solely in the person of the King, at whose \* pleasure they are assembled, *ad convocandos patres ceterosque proceres convocare?* and

\* Quis tanta  
est auctoritas  
ut nolentem  
principem possit

\* Statut. Angl.  
an. 1. Eliz. (&  
Hibern. an. 2.  
eiusdem) c. 1.

and without whose Royal assent nothing they conclude on can be a Law forcible to bind the Subjects. Whereupon by a special Act of the same great Court it is declared, \* that the Kings Highness must be acknowledged to be the **ONELY SUPREME GOVERNOUR** of his Dominions in all Causes whatsoever. Which could not stand, if that either Court it self, or any other Power upon earth, might in any Cause over-rule him: I say any Power, whether *Foreign* or *Domestical*.

† Sophocles in  
Antigona. verſ.  
1177.  
|| Xiphillin.  
Excerpt. ex  
Dionis Marc.  
Aurelio.

XXVIII. This Government is called *πρωτελης μοναρχία*, a full Monarchy, by † Sophocles; *αυταρχία*, a free and independent regiment, by Marcus Aurelius in || *Διο αυτοκρατορς βασιλεία ε ανυποδυναμη*, an absolute Kingdom, not subject to the controll of any, by Plutarch in that little Book wherein he compareth the three kinds of Governments (*Monarchical, Democratical, and Oligarchical or Aristocratical*) together, and in the end (out of Plato) preferreth a Monarchy before the rest for this very reason, because ∴ the others being ruled do yet after a sort rule, and being led do lead the Civil

∴ Αἱ μὲν γὰρ  
ἄλλαι πολι-  
τεῖαι τέρπον  
τὰ κεκατέμε-  
ναι κρατίους, καὶ  
πείθεσθαι ἑα-  
ντοὺς τῷ πολλῷ  
κόνει ἔχοντα ἢ ἰσχυρὸν βέλαιον ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἰσχύϊ, ἀλλὰ πολλὰν ἀναρχίαν ἔχοντα τὸ αἰχμαλωτὸν ἀναφρονεῖν, &c. Plutarch.

Go-

Governour set over them; who having no solid and firm strength herein from those who gave him his power, is subject to be suppressed by the same hand that raised him. Whereas a free Monarch, who hath the supremacy of Power placed in his own person, and by virtue thereof maketh such Laws, and imparteth to the subordinate Magistrates such authority for the seeing of them put in execution, as may best conduce to the benefit of the whole State, doth thereby in a most special manner represent unto us (as we have before heard out of the same Author) the image of God, the most high and absolute

\* Monarch of this whole Universe. To this purpose Cyril Bishop of Alexandria maketh that † high eminency of glory annexed unto the Imperial State to be an image upon earth of the supreme Majesty of Almighty God in Heaven. And you (saith he to the Emperours) || you alone who have obtained power over

\* Vide Philoſtem Jud. institutio lib. 1. de Monarchia.

† Τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἀνάστημα, καὶ ἀποστολικῶν διαφορέων τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνεστηκός ἐστι καὶ ὑποκείμενός ὑμῖν (ὡς οἱ λόχοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι) καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν ἐξαιρέσις † καὶ ἀντιπροσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ καὶ πάντων ὑποφάνης, εἰκὼς γὰρ ὅτι γῆς τὸ γένος, &c. ἴδοι δὲ ἂν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ καλλιῶντι Θεῷ, ὅς ἐστι περικλυτός καὶ ἀθάνατος πάντων ἐκκλησίας, διαπρεπής

καὶ ἀσκήτων † τὸν ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ οἷς λέξιν ἀξιώματων πηγὰς, καὶ ἀπάσης ὁ ὡς ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ. Cyril. in 10 libri de recta fide ad Theodori. || Τῆς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ βασιλείας ἐκτύπωμα ὡς ὅτι καὶ μίμημα τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑμεῖς ἐστὶ καὶ μόνον τὸ καὶ πάντων λαχόντες καὶ ἐκτείνοντες. Id. in Apol. ad eundem.

H

all

# The Power of the Prince.

all men, are as it were a kind of expression and imitation of that Kingdom which is in Heaven. Whereunto may be added that of the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament (in the 4. Tome of St. *Augustines* Works) \* *The King hath the image of God*; and the Author of the Commentaries upon the Epistles of S. Paul, who (not without great probability) is thought to be the same, howsoever bearing the name

\* Quæst. 25. ex  
vet. & nov.  
Test.

† *Principes hos reges dicit, qui propter corrigendam vitam & prohibenda adversa creantur; Dei habentes imaginem, ut sub uno sint ceteri.* Ambr. in Rom. 13.

¶ *Est ergo, ut eum plerique definiunt, princeps potestas publica, & in terris quadam divine majestatis imago.* Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 1.

of St. *Ambrose*, † *Kings are created for the correcting of our life, and the keeping back of adversities; in this having the image of God, that all the rest should be under one.* And of *Joh. Sarisburiensis*, || *The Prince, as sundry do define him, is a publick Power, and kind of an image of the divine Majesty upon earth.* To which

definition, or description rather, we may refer that of *Menander*,

∴ In Monosyllabis ab H. Stephano editan. 1569.

∴ Εἰκὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστιν εἰμψυχὸς θεῶν.

*The King is a living image of God.*

And that of *Diotogenes* the Pythagorean,



rean, that \* *The King having a Power uncontrollable, and being himself a living Law, is the figure of God among men.*

And those admonitions of *Agapetus* unto the Emperour *Justinian*, † *Seeing thou hast attained to a dignity higher than all other honour, do thou also above all others honour God, who was pleased so to dignifie thee, according to the similitude of his heavenly*

*Kingdom, giving unto thee the Scepter of this earthly Principality. For although*

\* *the King, in regard of the nature of his body be of the same mould with every other man, yet in respect of the eminency of his dignity he is like unto God, who is Lord over all; † whose image he beareth, and by him holdeth that Power which he hath over all men.*

\* Ο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἀνυποτάκτων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόμος καὶ ἡμολογῶν, Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῶν. Diotog. apud S. obaum Serm. 46.

† Τιμὴς ἀπάντης ὑπερέβην ἔχων ἀξίωμα, βασιλεὺς, τίμα ἑσὶν ἅπαντας ὅτι τέτις σε ἀξιώσασα θεὸν. ὅτι καὶ καὶ ὁμοίωσεν ὁ ἐπεταγὴς βασιλείας ἐδωκε σοὶ τὸ σκήπτρον ὅτι ἐπὶ γαίης δυναστείας. Agap, Par. c. 11.

\* Τὸ ἡμῶν ἑστὶν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἰδεῖα ὅτι ἀξίωμα ὁμοίωσεν ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίωσεν ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίωσεν ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίωσεν. Ibid, cap. 21.

† Τὸ εἰκόνα φέρει τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔχει ὅτι πάντων ἀρχὴ. Ibid, cap. 37.

XXIX. If we consider God in his own sublime Majesty, the Scripture will tell us that \* *his Throne is in Heaven*; but if we look upon him in these his Vicegerents, which do so immediately

\* Psal. 11 4. P. 103. 16.

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represent his person among the Sorts of men, in the same Scripture we may find out another Throne of his, prepared here on this *earth*, which is his *\* foot-stool*. Thus, where in the History of the Kings we read that † *Solomon sate upon the Throne of David his Father, and his Kingdom was established greatly*: In the Chronicles we have it thus expressed, || *Then Solomon sate on the Throne of the LORD as King in stead of David his Father, and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him*. And, where in the former the Queen of Sheba is brought in speaking unto the same King after this manner, ∴ *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on the Throne of Israel*: In the later her Speech is thus related; \* *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on HIS Throne, to be King for the LORD thy God*. And as the Kings Throne is accounted Gods Throne, so the Kings themselves also are stiled his Kings and his Anointed; † *He shall give strength unto HIS King, and exalt the Horn of HIS Anointed, saith Hannah in her Song*: And David likewise in his, || *Great deliverance giveth he to HIS King, and sheweth mercy to HIS Anointed*.

XXX. Where

\* Esay 66. 1.  
Mat. 5. 3.

† 1 King. 2. 12.

|| 1 Chron. 29.  
23.

∴ 1 King. 10. 9

\* 2 Chron. 9. 8

† 1 Sam. 2. 10.

|| Psal. 18. 50.  
2 Sam. 22. 51.

XXX. Where further also it deserveth special consideration, that this sacred title of *the Lords Anointed* is not onely attributed to \* *David* and † *Josiah*, and such good Kings as God in his mercy did raise up unto his People; but to || *Saul* also, a King whom ∴ he gave unto them in his anger: nor to those who were of the Common-wealth of *Israel* alone, but to *Cyrus* an Heathen Emperour, of whom it is written, † *Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him: who although at first he did not know his Founder, yet at last by publick Proclamation he made this large acknowledgment of him, \* Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, All the Kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem. Yea, he that gave the Empire to Cyrus that should † build his City, and let go his Captives, gave the same unto Nebuchadnezzar, who had before destroyed the same City, and led the People into captivity; whereof the Prophet Daniel did thus put him in mind; || Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a Kingdom,*

Power,

H 3

\* 2 Sam. 12.7.  
& 19.21. &  
23.1.

† Lam. 4.20.  
|| 1 Sam. 12.3,5  
& 24. 6, 10. &  
26.9, 11, 16, 23  
cum 2 Sam. 1.  
14, 16.  
∴ 1 Sam. 8.7.

† Esay 45.1.

\* 1 Chron. 36.  
23. Ezra 1.2.

† Esay 45. 13

|| Dan. 2.27.

Power and Strength and Glory : and afterwards his Grandchild in these words,

\* Dan. 5. 18, 19 \* *The most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour ; and for the Majesty that he gave him, all People, Nations and Languages trembled and feared before him : whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down. And he that gave Cyrus the title of his Anointed, gave to this Nebuchadnezzar*

† Jer. 25. 9. &

27. 6. & 43. 10

|| Num. 12. 7, 8

Psal. 105. 26.

∴ Jos. 24. 29.

\* Psal. 18. 1. &

78. 7c.

also the stile of his † *Servant* ; the same wherewith those choicest Governours, || *Moses*, ∴ *Joshua*, and \* *David*, were graced by him.

XXXI. That Kings derive their Power, and hold their Crown from God, is a truth which even Heathen Writers do acknowledge no less than Christian, † ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς βασιλεύειν — was the saying of old *Hesiod* ; whereby he makes God their *procreant* cause, as elsewhere their *conservant*, by giving them the title of || Διοτρεφεῖς, ( and what the Poets ascribe to *Jove* the Apostle gives to ∴ *God*, we know.) The former is more largely expressed thus by \* *Callimachus*, (whose Verses together with all the following, are of the translation of my

† *Kings are from Jove*. Hesiod. Theog. vers. 96.

|| *Nourished by Jove*. 1b. vers. 82.

∴ *Acts* 17. 24, 28.

\* *Callimach. hymn*, in *Jovem*.

my ingenious and learned Friend  
(Mr. J.P.)

Ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς Βασιλῆες\* ἑπεὶ Διὸς ἔδδεν  
ἀνάκτων  
Θειόπερον, ἧ δ' ἐ σφι πῶς ἐκρίναο τάξιιν.

*Kings are from Jove, none so divine  
as they  
Whom he calls his, and in his place bids  
sway.*

The later is set down by Homer in this  
manner,

\* Θυμὸς τοῦ μεγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέας. ἑασι- \* Iliad. β. ver.  
λῆας. 196, 197.  
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ, φιλεῖ τοῦ ἐ μῆϊέτα  
Ζεῦς.

*The anger of a King is great ;  
Him Jove himself doth nourish :  
From him his honour springs,  
And by his love doth flourish.*

Where note with Eustathius, that Kings  
are called διοτρεφεῖς & διοτρεφεῖς\* † not † οὐκ ὅτι ἐκ  
as deriving their pedigree from Jove, Διὸς τὸ γένος  
but their Kingly honour. And this is ἑλκυσιν, ἀλλ'  
ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ  
ἀντὶς ἡ τιμὴ, ἡ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς διὰ τὴν. Eustath. p. 199. ed. Rom.  
H 4 de-

*The Power of the Prince.*

delivered also by the same Poet, under  
the person of sage *Nestor* reproving  
*Achilles* for contending with King *Agamemnon*;

\* *Iliad. α. ver.*  
277, &c.

\* Μήτε Cυ Πηλείδῃ ἡδελ' ἐριζέμεναι βα-  
σιλῆι  
Ἀχιλλῶ· ἐπεὶ ἔποθ' ὀργῆς ἔμμερε π-  
μῆς  
Σκηπτέχῳ βασιλῆϊ, ᾧ π Ζεὺς κῦδ' ἔδωκε.

*Pelides strive not with the King,  
His honour is a different thing  
From thine: his Power is from above,  
His Scepter is the gift of Jove.*

And directing his Speech to *Agamemnon*  
himself,

† *Iliad. β. ver.*  
97, &c. cum  
*Iliad. β. vers.*  
205, 206.

† Λαῶν ἐσὶ ἀναξ, ἃ τοι Ζεὺς ἐγκυάλιζε  
Σκῆπτρον τ' ἦδ' ἰδέμεναι, ἵνα Cφίσι βυ-  
λῶνῃσιν.

*Thou rulest many Nations, Jove a Sce-  
pter did thee lend,  
And Laws, that to thy Peoples good  
thou might'st attend.*

Whence *Eustathius* also inferreth, that  
\* the

## The Power of the Prince.

45

\* *the Kingly Office is a good gift of God,* \* Θεὸς δὲ δίδωσι ἀ-  
γαθὸν ἢ βασι-  
λείαν. Eustath.  
in Iliad. 2. p.  
202, 203. edit.  
and that † *the King hath both the Scepter*  
and his Jurisdiction from God.

Rom. † Ὁ ἀναξ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν Θεὸς ὃν ἔχει καὶ δυνάμεις. Idem in  
Iliad. 9. p. 738.

And with *Homer*, the Prince of Poets,  
doth *Plato* likewise, the Prince of Phi-  
losophers, acknowledge \* *the*

*Regal Office to be a divine*  
*good among men;* and makes  
his † *King as it were a God*  
*among men.* Diotogenes the  
Pythagorean saith, that || *God*  
*hath given him dominion.*

\* *Dio Chrysostom* toucheth of-  
ten the same thing. *Pliny*  
tellethe the Emperour *Trajan*,  
that God † *gave him to be his*  
*Substitute toward all Mankind.*  
And *Themistius* affirmeth, that  
|| *God from heaven did send*  
*regal power unto the earth.*

Our Christians also that li-  
ved under the first Persecu-  
tions, though they had oc-  
casion enough thereby given  
them to decline the Govern-

ment  
vinianum Imp. ubi etiam regia illa epitheta, *δοξαστὴ καὶ διοβερτὴ*, ex  
Homero repetit.

\* Πλάτων βασιλείαν εἶναι  
ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλεῖ.  
Syuef. in orat. de Regno.

† Οἶον Θεὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων.  
Plato in Politico

|| Διόδοκον ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν  
ἐγκρασίαν. Diotog apud  
Stobaeum serm. 46

\* Τῶν βασιλείων εἶδος Διὸς  
ἔχοντων † ἐμπόπτω καὶ †  
δυνάμει. Dio orat. 1. de  
regno. Ὅταν ἀνθρώπους  
ἐφ' ἧν τότε νομίζετο τὸ θεοει-  
κότα εἶναι, αὐτοὶ ἴσταντο  
μαρτυρεῖν Θεῷ ταχθεὶς ὅτι αὐτοὶ  
τὸ ἔργον. Id. orat. 3. de re-  
gno ad Trajanum. ὡς μόνον  
τὸ θεοεικότα ἐνεμεν ὁ Θεός.  
Id. ibid.

† Te dedit, qui erga omne ho-  
minum genus vice sua sume-  
reris. Plin. Paneg. ad Traj.

|| Βασιλείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἑργου  
κατέπεμψεν εἰς † γένος  
ὁ Θεός. Themist. orat. 5. de  
Imp. Theodosii humanita-  
te. Vide & orat. 22. ad Jo-

ment of those Times and Emperours, did yet both acknowledge and reverence Gods Ordinance in the advancement of them. And therefore when *Celsus* the Epicurean Philosopher had cited the place of *Homer*,

\* *Homer. Il. β.*  
vers. 294, 205.

Εἰς βασιλέως, ὃ ἐδῶκε κέρου παῖς ἀγνώ-  
λομήτω.

and inferred thence against the Chri-

† Ὡς ἂν τὸ τοῦ Ἰσῆος τὸ δῶ-  
μα, εἰκότως ἀμυνεῖται σὺν  
βασιλέως. *Celsus apud Ori-*  
*genem.*

|| Ἀλλ' ὃ ἐδῶκεν ὁ θεὸς ἡμεῶν  
βασιλεῖς καὶ μετὰ τούτων, καὶ τὸ  
θεῖον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῆ· καὶ ὁ θεὸς  
καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῇ (ὡς οἱ μὲν  
δοιοὶ Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι) Κεῖ-  
νι ὑπὸς ἀπλάσματος τῶν τῶν ἀρ-  
χῶν, καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλ'  
ὁ διοικῶν τὰ σύμπαντα Θεός,  
εἶδεν ὁ πὺν ποτὲ ποιῆσαι τὸ  
τόπον τὸ ἐν βασιλείᾳ κα-  
ταστάσεως. *Orig. l. 3. contra*  
*Celsum.*

istian, † *If thou wilt not admit  
this Document, the King may  
justly punish thee: Origen ad-*  
*mitteth it, so that instead of*  
*the fabulous son of Saturn,*  
*the true G O D be nomina-*  
*ted, || who setteth up Kings*  
*and removeth them, and in his*  
*own time raiseth upon the earth*  
*such an one as is useful to the*  
*State. For, it is not, saith he,*  
*the son of Saturn (who expel-*  
*led his Father from his Go-*  
*vernment, and cast him into*  
*Hell, as the Fables of the Gre-*  
*cians report) that setteth up*  
*Kings; but it is the God who governeth*  
*all things, that knoweth when and in what*  
*place*



place to appoint the erection of Kings.

And so concludeth, that \* the King could not justly punish them for saying that it is not the son of crafty Saturn that gave him power to reign, but he who is the remover and setter up of Kings : and wisheth that all would do the like, rejecting the Homerial, and embracing the divine doctrine touching the constitution of a Kingdom, and observing the precept which requireth them to honour the King. To this purpose also Theophilus Bishop of Antioch thus declares himself, † I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him : Him that is God indeed, even the true God, I adore ; knowing that by him the King is ordained. And again, || He is not himself God, but a man appointed by God ; not to be worshipped, but to judge righteously ; being after a sort entrusted by God with this administration. Athenagoras (addressing his speech jointly to Aurelius and his son Commodus )

\* Ἀλλ' ὅτι εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ἀμυνώμεθα βασιλίδος, φάσκοντες μὴ ὅτι ἡ κρῖν πῦρ ἀγκυλωμένην ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεῖν, ὃ ἡ μῦσις βασιλεῖς καὶ κτερίζειν. Καὶ τὸ εὐλογεῖν ποιήσουσιν μοι ἅπαντες, τὸ μὴ Ὀμηρικὸν χαλαρόν τις ὄνομα, τὸ ἡθεὶς βασιλείας τηρεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἡ βασιλεία ἡμεῖς φυλάττοντες. Id. ibid.

† Τοιγαρὺν μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἢ σεβασμῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ἐν λόγῳ ὡς αὐτῷ. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς ὅντως θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ σεβασμῷ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς αὐτῷ γένετο. Theoph. ad Autoly-cum l. i.

|| Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπος ὡς διὰ τεταγμένης, οὐκ εἰς τὸ σεβασμῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν. Τελέων γὰρ πῦρ θεῷ οἰκονομία πᾶσι δίδεται. Ibid.

\* To

\* Τῶν πᾶσι καὶ ὑπὸ πάντα  
καχεῖται, ἀνῶθεν δὲ βασι-  
λεῖα ἐκλήροσι. Athenag.  
legat. pro Christian.

† Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἕνα θεόν καὶ  
δημιουργόν αὐτῶν πάντων καὶ  
τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγγχει-  
ζαντα φιλοδοξοῦσιν οὐα-  
λεριανῶ καὶ Γαλιένῳ σεβα-  
σις, τῶτον καὶ σέβωμεν καὶ  
σεβασμῶμεν. Dion. adv.  
Germanum, apud Euseb.  
l. 7. Hist. Eccl. c. 11.

|| Cujus jussu homines na-  
scuntur, hujus jussu & ve-  
ges constituuntur. Ibid. l. 5.  
c. 24.

∴ Inde est Imperator unde  
et homo antequam Imperator;  
inde potestas illi unde &  
spiritus. Tertul. Apolog.  
c. 30.

\* Sed quid ego amplius de  
religione atque pietate Chri-  
stianā in Imperatorem? quem  
necesse est suspiciamus, ut eum  
quem Dominus noster elegit:  
ut in rito dixerim, noster est  
magis Caesar, ut à nostro Deo  
constitutus. Ibid. c. 33.

\* To you the power of all things  
is committed, ye have received  
the Kingdom from above. And  
Dionysius of Alexandria, † We  
worship and adore that one  
God and maker of all things,  
who hath committed the King-  
dom to our sacred Emperours  
Valerianus and Galienus. Ire-  
neus, having proved this  
point at large by testimony  
of Scripture, concludes his  
discourse elegantly with these  
words, || By whose command  
they are born men, by his com-  
mand likewise they are ordai-  
ned Kings. And so Tertul-  
lian after him, ∴ Thence is the  
Emperour from whence he was  
a man before he became Empe-  
rour: thence hath he his autho-  
rity from whence he hath his  
breath. And again, \* what should  
I speak more of the religious  
and observant respect of Chri-  
stians towards the Emperour?  
whom of necessity we must reve-  
rence as one that our Lord hath  
chosen; so as we may truly say, Caesar is  
rather ours than yours, as being ordained  
by

by our God. And in another place,

\* *A Christian is enemy to no man, much less to the Emperour, whom knowing to be appointed by his God, he must of necessity love, reverence and wish safe.* Which safety and

\* *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris, quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut & ipsum diligat, & revereatur, & saluum velit.* Id. ad Scapul. c. 2.

health of the Prince he sheweth to have been so highly esteemed by the Christians, (even when thus they suffered Persecution from them) that they used to make mention of it in their Oaths;

† *We swear, saith he, not by the Genii of the Cæsars, (which are no other than Devils) but by their Health, which to us is exceedingly more venerable than those delusions. We reverence in our Emperours Gods judgment, that hath made them Governours over the Nations: For that we know to be in them which God would have to be, and therefore would have that to be safe which God appointed; and make account of that as a great Oath.*

† *Sed & juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarem, ita per salutem eorum, quæ est augustior omnibus genis. Nescitis genios demonas dici, & inde demonia? Nos judicium Dei suspicimus in Imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos præfocit. Id enim in eis scimus esse, quod Deus voluit; ideoque & saluum ipsum volumus esse quod Deus voluit; & pro magno id juramento habemus.* Id. in apol. c. 32.

And so under the Christian Emperours, as *Vegetius* tells us, the Oath administered unto the Roman Souldiers was;

\* Per Deum, & per Christum,  
& per Spiritum sanctum, &  
per maiestatem Imperatoris,  
que, secundum Deum generi  
humano diligenda est & co-  
lenda. FL. Vcget. de re mi-  
litari l. 2. c. 5.

† Nam Imperatori, cum Au-  
gusti nomen accepit, tanquam  
præsenti & corporali Deo fi-  
delis est præstanda devotio,  
& impendendus pervigil sa-  
mulatus. Deo enim vel pri-  
vatus vel militans servit,  
cum fideliter eum diligit qui  
Deo regnat authore. Ibid.

|| Athanaricus Gothus apud  
Jornand. de rebus Geticis,  
c. 18. Deus sine dubio terre-  
nus est Imperator; & quis-  
quis adversus eum manum mo-  
verit, ipse sui sanguinis reus  
existit.

was, \* By God, and Christ,  
and the holy Ghost, and by the  
Majesty of the Emperour; which,  
next after God, was by man-  
kind to be loved and honoured:  
whereof he gives this reason,  
† To the Emperour, when he  
hath received the name of Au-  
gustus, faithful devotion is to  
be exhibited, and all vigilant  
service to be performed, as unto  
a present and || corporeal God.  
For a man, whether private or  
military, doth serve God, when  
he faithfully loves him who  
reigns by the Authority of God.  
Which reason, whether it  
hath force sufficient to intro-  
duce the Emperours either

• Health or Majesty into the form of a  
solemn Oath, I will not at this time de-  
bate: but for the thing it self, that  
God hath constituted Princes over Na-  
tions, and that they reign by his Au-  
thority, is a matter as generally acknow-  
ledged in the times of the Christian, as  
before it was in the days of the Hea-  
then Emperours.

The first Christian Emperour *Constan-  
tine* used this speech sometime unto his  
Bishops,

Bishops, \* *You are the Bishops of those things which are done within the Church; but I am appointed by God to be the Bishop of those things that are done without the Church*: meaning that the oversight of the external Government of things belonging to the Church, was by God committed unto him, as well as the administration of the holy things of God within the Church was unto them. And of this he gave good proof in the Mandate which he directed to the Bishops assembled in the Council of Tyre, for the discussing of the cause of Athanasius, † *that all of them should immediately repair unto his Court, to shew by their acts how purely and incorruptly they had judged; || and that before me, saith he, whom you may not deny to be Gods true minister.* Which title he elsewhere also assumes unto himself, as unto one ∴ *whose ministry God had found out and judged to be fit for the accomplishment of his good pleasure.* And although his son Constantius

\* Τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐκτὸς Θεοῦ κατεστάμεν. ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. Euseb. de vita Constantini l. 4.

† ἵνα πάντες ὅσοι τινὲς συνέβησαν τινὲς ἐν Τύρῳ ῥησμεύοντες πληρώσῃτε, ἀνυπόκριτως εἰς τὸ ἐξαλόπιστον τὸ ἡμετέρας ἐπιθερίας, (αἱ ἐμῆς ἡμετέρας) ἐπεκρίνῃτε, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιδείξαντες τὸ τὸ ἡμετέρας κείσεως καὶ ἀσέβον τὸ καὶ διάστροφον, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα δὲ, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ γνώσιον εἶναι διακρίνῃτε. Const. ep. ad Synod. Tyri apud Athan. in apol. 2. & Soc. l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 34.

|| Παράκλημα τὸ ἰδίαν τὸ λυμὸν διὰ τὸ τῷ διακρίνῃ τῷ Θεῷ τετεῖν ἐμὴ, ἐκείνης ἀνασταλίσταται. Id. in ep. ad Nicomed. apud

Theod. l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 19. ∴ Τινὲς ἐν τῷ κατεστάμεν πρὸς τὸ ἐμὴ βύλησιν ἐπιθερίας ἐκρίνῃ τὸ καὶ ἐκείνῃ. Id. in ed. ad Palest. Provinc. apud Euseb. l. 4. de vita Const.

did

did labour with might and main to introduce the *Arrian* Heresie into the Church of God, yet did *Hosius* Bishop

\* Σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπέ-  
χεισεν. *Hosius* apud A-  
thanas. in epist. ad solita-  
riam vitam agentes.

† Ὁ τινὲς σὺν ἀρχιεπί-  
σκοπῳ ἀντιλήγει τὴν δια-  
τάξιν αὐτοῦ. Id. ibid.

|| Μη εἶναι τινὲς βασιλείαν  
αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὅς διδωκότῃ  
Θεῷ, ἐν τῇ φοβέῃ αὐτὸν  
ἡξίουν, μὴ ἑξαίφνης αὐτὸν  
ἀφείλῃ. )

∴ Δέσποτα πατριάρχης, βα-  
σιλεὺς ἡμῶν αἰώνων, ὁ πατήρ  
ἡμῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
ὃν διὰ τοῦ λόγου τινὲς βα-  
σιλείαν ταύτην τῷ Δεσπό-  
τῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἡδωκας·  
ὃν λαμβόνεις τινὲς καρδίαν  
αὐτοῦ, ἵνα γνῷς τινὲς κατὰ ἡ-  
μῶν συκοφαντίαν, ἐνθυμῶς  
ἐν τῷ Νέῳ τινὲς ἀπολο-  
γίαν. Athanas. in apol. ad  
Constantium.

of *Corduba* for all that freely profess, that \* *God had com-  
mitted the Kingdom to him,*  
and therefore † *whosoever did  
detract from his Empire, did  
contradict God that constituted  
it.* And four other Bishops  
(*Paulinus* of *Trier*, *Lucifer* of  
*Calaris*, *Eusebius* of *Verselli*, and *Diony-  
sius* of *Millain*) upon the same ground  
made bold to tell him, || *That  
the Kingdom was not his, but  
Gods who gave it unto him ;  
whom they advised him there-  
fore to fear, lest he should sud-  
denly take the same again from*

*him.* And *Athanasius* being persecuted  
by him, prayed, ∴ *O Lord  
Almighty, King of the World,  
Father of our Lord Jesus  
Christ, thou by thy word hast  
given to thy servant Constan-  
tius this Kingdom ; do thou  
so enlighten his mind, that he  
may perceive how I am calum-  
niated, and so receive graciously  
my Apology : attributing here-  
by*

by to *Constantius*, the grand Patron of the *Arrians*, the same power which *Julius Firmicus* did to him and his brother

*Constans*, \*The high God hath committed unto you the Empire.

And Pope *Leo* the Great giveth it to the Emperours † *Theodosius*, *Marcianus* and *Leo*; Pope || *Hormisdas* to the Emperour *Justinus*; and *Gregory* the Great to *Mauricius*; unto whom when he had written in general terms, that

∴ power was given unto him over all men, he declareth it more specially in his Letter unto his Physician *Theodorus*, that God had \*granted him dominion not onely over Soldiers, but also over Priests: as Pope *Gelasius* had written before him to the Emperour *Anastasius*, † The Bishops obey thy Laws, knowing the Empire to be conferred upon thee by order from above.

|| The Lord, saith *St. Basil* setteth up Kings, and removeth them, and there is no power but what is ordained by God. And

\* Ad hoc vobis Deus summus commisit imperium, ut per vos vulneris istius plaga curaretur. *Jul. Firmicus Matern. de errore profan. relig. c. 17.*

† unde per ipsum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui regni vestri est author & rector, obtestor & obsecro clementiam vestram. *Leo epist. 38. ad Marcian. Imp.*

|| A Deo electi, sicut & credimus. *Hormisd. epist. 27. ad Justin.*

∴ Potestas Dominorum meorum pietate cœlitus data est super omnes homines. *Greg. 1. Registr. l. 2. epist. 62. ad Mauricium.*

\* Dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit. *Ibid. epist. 63. ad Theodorum.*

† Cognoscetes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque prævent religionis antistites. *Gelas. ep. 8. ad Anastas.*

|| Κύριος θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἀνέστη καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ ἔστη καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμένον. *Basil. in Psal. 32.*

St. An-

\* Non tribuamus dandi regni  
atque imperii potestatem nisi  
à Deo vero. Aug. de civit.  
Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

\* Si à Deo potestas omnis, à  
Deo rex etiam dispensationis  
Regie adeptus est dignitatem.  
Chrysol. Serm. 26.

Rom. 13. 1.

And the Apostle purposely declareth,  
that || the powers that be are ordained of  
God, to the end no man might think that  
these are to be slighted as humane de-  
vices. For they see that a divine right  
is attributed to humane authorities, said  
the Author of the Commentaries upon  
St. Pauls Epistles, ascribed to St. Am-  
brose. Hereupon Cyril Patriarch of Ale-  
xandria putteth Theodosius the younger

\* Κληε Θ υμιν Ξαυρετός †  
κ η πρέπων Θ ε ο υ. Cyril.  
init. l. 1. de inde ad Theod.

† Εξομα ο τ ο α κ ε ς δ α ν λ ο ν  
τ ο π ω θ ε ο φ ι λ ε ς κ η σ υ α γ ε ς δ  
τ η ς υ μ η ς β α σ ι λ ε ι α ς, α υ τ ο ς ο  
κ λ η ε ο η μ η ς Ι η σ υ ς Χ ρ ι σ τ ο ς  
δ ι α υ τ ο υ γ α ρ β α σ ι λ ε ι ς β α σ ι  
λ ε υ ς ι, κ η ο ι δ υ ν α ς τ α γ ε ς  
φ α σ ι δ ι κ α ι σ τ ω λ ω, κ η τ ο  
γ η ρ α μ ι θ ρ ο ν. Ibid.

|| Ω ρ α ρ ε α ν π ρ ε σ β η κ η μ ο ν ω  
π ο δ χ λ ω ν α ι λ ο γ η ν. δ ι ε μ ε  
β α σ ι λ ε ι ς β α σ ι λ ε υ ς ι. Id.  
in Præfat. lib. adv. Julian.

St. Augustine, \* Let us not at-  
tribute unto any other the power  
of giving Kingdoms and Em-  
pires, but to the true God.  
And Petrus Chrysologus Arch-  
bishop of Ravenna, † If all  
power be from God, then hath  
the King received the dignity  
of his Regal office from God.

in mind that \* the lot of that  
high dignity, whereunto he  
was advanced, fell unto him  
from God: and that \* the un-  
moveable prop of his Empire  
was our Lord Jesus Christ, by  
whom Kings do reign, as it is  
written; yea, † to whom alone  
it belongeth to say, By me  
Kings reign; as he writeth  
unto the same Emperour, in  
the



## The Power of the Prince.

55

the Preface before his Books against the

Apostate Julian, who \* *knew not that* \* Ἀγνοῖται ὅτι  
Christ was the giver of the Kingdom and βασιλείας καὶ  
power of Ruling. So likewise in the Acts τῆς βουλῆς  
of the Council of Chalcedon, not onely κατεῖν δοτῆρα  
Χριστῶν. Id. lb.

the Monks, which held with *Discorus*,  
conclude their Petition unto the Em-  
perour *Marcian* with an acknowledg-

ment that Christ, † *of his own*  
*good pleasure did in an invis-*  
*ible manner bestow the Empire*  
*upon him* : but also the Bishop  
and Clergy of *Nicomedia* be-  
gin their Letters unto him  
and *Valentinian* in a like stile;

|| *God hath justly granted unto*  
*you to reign and rule over all,*  
*for the welfare of the World,*  
*and the peace of the holy Chur-*  
*ches* : the six *Armenian* Bi-  
shops theirs unto the Empe-  
rour *Leo* thus; ∴ *God who glo-*  
*rifieth them that glorifie him,*  
*bath graciously given unto you,*  
*Christian Prince, power over*  
*all men without any prohibition:*  
*and Athalaric King of the*  
*Goths his unto the Clergy of*

† Τῷ καὶ ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ  
ἐκδοτικῇ χειροποιήσας ὑμῶν τὸ  
βασιλεῖον. Archimandritar.  
ep. ad Marcian. in Conc.  
Chalcedon. Act. 4. tom. 2.  
Concil. part. 1. p. 237. edit.  
Coloh. an. 1618.

|| Θεὸς τὸ βασιλεῖον ὑμῶν  
καὶ κατεῖν ἡμῶν ὅλων ἐπὶ σου-  
μερα ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ  
καὶ ἅγιον ἐκκλησίαν, δι-  
καιοῦς δὲ δόξαν. Eunom.  
Nicomed. episc. epist. ad  
Imp. in Conc. Chalcedon.  
Act. 13. p. 308.

∴ Deus, qui glorificantes se  
glorificat, secundum cor suum  
apicem vestra tranquillitatis  
inveniens inexpugnabilem,  
palmam & honorem Fidei  
consistentem, placidus præbuit  
vobis (Christianissime Prin-  
cipum) super omnes homines si-  
ne prohibitione aliqua potesta-  
tem. Insurgentes enim inopina-  
biliter subdidit victoriis at-

que incomparabilibus triumphis & vestram pietatem excellentissimis honoribus  
exornavit; immutata & sine litigio, & ab aliis indivisa præbens sceptrum ve-  
stri imperii. Conc. Chalc. part. 3. p. 395.

I 2 the

the Church of Rome in this manner;

\* Tanto Divinitati plura debemus quanto cateris mortalibus majora suscepimus. Nam quid simile rependat Deo qui potitur Imperio? Cassiodor. l.8, epist. 24.

\* We owe so much the more to the Deity, by how much we have received greater things than other men: For what correspondent thing can be repaid to God, who by his gift enjoyeth an Empire? Of which point Agapetus Diaconus teacheth Justinian, (who at the same time was Emperour in the

† Ἐγκόσμιον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πιστεύουσιν βασιλεύσαν μὴ δὲν ἔχειν πονηρῶν πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσιῶν διοικήσεις. Agapet. Parænetic. c. 30.

|| Σκῆπτρον βασιλείας παρέχῃ Θεὸς δεξιᾷ σου οὐκ ἔστι πῶς ἀρέσκεις τῷ ταῦτί σου δεσπότῃ· ὡς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἐξουσιουθεῖς, πλέον πάντων ἐπείγει κατακαίρειν αὐτόν. Idem c. 16.

∴ Nihil est in dubium deducere ejus potestatem cui omnium gubernatio superno constat delegata iudicio. Concil. Tolletan. 6. c. 14.

East) to make this use, † seeing God hath entrusted you with this Kingdom of the World, use none of the wicked to the administration of your affairs: and again, || seeing you have received the Scepter of the Kingdom from God, consider how you may please him who gave the same unto you; and being by him exalted above all men, strain your self more than all others to honour him. Let us add to this the sentence of the Council of Toledo, ∴ It is unlawful to call his power into question to whom the Government of all is known to be delegated by judgment from above: and of Paris,

\* No

\* No King is to think that his Kingdom cometh unto him by his Progenitors, but ought truly and humbly to believe that it is given unto him by God: for whosoever hath the temporal rule over other men, is to believe that the Kingdom is committed unto him not by men, but by God; forasmuch as this earthly Kingdom is obtained neither by craft, nor by wish, nor by the arm of mans strength, but by the power and secret judgment of the providence of God. So likewise the Council held at Meaulx declareth out of St. Paul, that † the Regal Power is from God: and that of Aken puts Lotharius || in mind of his vocation, that Christ the King of Kings, who on earth in his name had substituted him for the worthy dispensation of his Office, might in Heaven remunerate him. And in a third held at Trosley, the Bishops do both acknowledge out

ra sibi credita dignam remunerationem reddat in cælis. Concil. Aquisgran, 3. c. 1. ibid. p. 189.

\* Nemo regum à progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed à Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet dari, &c. Quapropter quisquis cæteris mortalibus temporaliter imperat, non ab hominibus, sed à Deo sibi regnum commissum credat, &c. quia non astu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humane, sed virtute, imo occulto judicio dispensationis divina regnum confertur terrenum. Concil. Paris. 6. c. 5. tom. 2. Concil. Gallia p. 529.

† Si quis potestati regia, que non est, juxta Apostolum, nisi à Deo, contumaci ac inflato spiritu, contra auctoritatem & rationem pertinaciter contradicere præsumpserit, &c. anathematizetur. Concil. Meldens. c. 15. tom. 3. Conc. Gal. p. 36.

|| Christianissimo principi ad memoriam reduximus, ut non immemor vocationis sue, quod nomine censetur opere compleat; ut rex regum Christus, qui sui nominis vicem illi contulit in terris, dispensatio-

\* In quo factō Pontificalem sic ereximus auctoritatem, ut non obliviscamur Regiam à Deo constitutam esse sublimitatem; dicente Apostolo, Subjēcti estote regi quasi præcellentī. Concil. Trosleian. c.2. ibid. p.539.

† Hac vobis commissa decen-ter administratiōe privata, ab eo qui temporale vobis dedit regnum, accipere æternum. Ibid. p.541.

|| Fidelis vobis adiutor ero, ut regnum quod vobis Deus donavit, vel donaverit, ad ipsius voluntatem, &c. habere & obtinere possitis. Capitular. Caroli Calvi à Jac. Sir-mundo edit. c.38. p.387.

∴ Fidelis vobis adiutor ero, ut illam potestatem quam in Regio nomine & regno vobis Deus concessit, ad ipsius voluntatem, & ad vestram ac fidelium vestrorum salvatiōem, cum debito & honore & vigore tenere & gubernare possitis. Id. c.22. p.165.

of S. Peter, that \* the Regal sublimity is constituted by God; and pray for their King, that † having well performed the Government committed unto him from him who gave him the temporal Kingdom, he might receive that which is everlasting. And the French Bishops, in the Profession which they made unto Car-olus Calvus, || promise their faithful assistance for the up-holding of him in the King-dom which God had bestowed, or should bestow upon him: as in a former Oath also his Sub-jects ∴ promised the like as-sistance for the maintaining of that power which in the Regal name and Kingdom God had granted unto him.

The time would fail me to recount

† Μέγιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δῶρε Θεοῦ, παρὰ τὸ ἀνάδιν δεδωκέναι, λαμβανόντα, Ἱερουσὴν † καὶ βασιλεῖα, &c. ἐν μαῖς † καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἰνατίεια ποιοῦ-σα, καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ λαοσύντα βίαν. Jul. Nov.6. init.

good-

goodness from above hath conferred on men; are the Priesthood and Empire; both of which do proceed from one and the same principle, and are for the ordering and disposing of the affairs of Mankind.

\* Nothing is exempted from the cognizance of Regal Power, which hath received from God the general charge of all sorts of men. And of himself in particular, † The Empire is delivered unto us by the heavenly Majesty. || By the divine appointment we took upon us the Imperial Robes, and the rights of the Empire by our Lord Jesus Christ. ∴ God did set us over the affairs of the Romans, and \* gave us rule over the Nations. † He according to his benignity entrusted us with the power of the Laws. And || forasmuch as for this end God from Heaven hath constituted the Regal Power, we thought good to write this Law, and give it in com-

\* Μὴδὲν ἀλλόθεν ἔστιν εἰς ζῆ-  
τιον τῇ βασιλείᾳ, κοινῶν  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὅπῃ-  
σιν ἐκ Θεοῦ παραλάβομεν.  
Id. in Nov. 133. prooemio.

† Deo auctore nostrum guber-  
nante Imperium, quod nobis  
à celesti majestate traditum  
est. Cod. de vet. jur. enucl.  
in init.

|| Nutu divino Imperiales su-  
scipimus insulas. l. fin. in ff.  
c. de quadrienn. præscript.  
which Agapetus in his Ad-  
monitions to him, num. 45.  
did thus iterate. Νόμον  
Θεοῦ βασιλείαν λαβόν.  
∴ Per ipsum (Christum) ju-  
ra Imperii suscepimus, l. 2.  
in princip. c. de offic. Præf.  
Præf. Afr.

∴ Ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς Ῥω-  
μαίων ἐπέσχετο παραγγα-  
Novel. 47.

\* Ἐν τοῖς ἑθνεσιν, ὡς ἡμῶν  
ἔξασχεν δίδωκεν ὁ Θεός.  
Ibid.

† Νόμον πολιτικῶν ἡμῶν  
ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τῶν  
ἐαυτῶ φιλανθρωπῶν ἐπέσχε-  
σε. Nov. 137. init.

|| Ἐπειδὴ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς ἔξ ἡμετέρου καθήκεν, &c. ὡς ἡμεῖς  
χρῶμεθα, καὶ τοῦτον γράψαι τὸν νόμον, καὶ δυνάμεν κοινῶς τοῖς ὑποκόμοις ὁπόσους,  
ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπέσχετο τὸ παράδοκα, καὶ κατὰ μὴκερὲν αἰεὶ ἐπεσίστησι. Nov. 73.

mon to those Subjects which both already he hath committed to us and by little and little doth daily add to. As also in a like expression he willeth other Laws of his to be observed, not in the Imperial City

alone, but also \* in all those Nations, the Government of some whereof, saith he, God at first gave to us; others he hath since added, and we hope will still increase. And from hence he neglected not often to make mention of that duty which he held himself bound thereby to perform unto his Subjects; † Since the time, saith he, that God did set us over the Empire of the Romans, we have been diligent to do always what might conduce to the profit of the Subjects of this Common-wealth wherewith God hath entrusted us: and || to preserve all our Subjects, the Government of whom God hath committed unto us, without hurt or damage. ∴ Always by Gods assistance we use all providence to preserve

from

\* Ἐν ἀπασιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἡμῶν τιμὴ ἡγεμονίαν, τιμὴ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, τιμὴ δὲ προσεθηκεν, ἥ δὲ ἐπὶ καὶ δώσει (οἱσὶ τις σφὶς σὺν ἡμῶν)  
Nov. 60. ubi ad Homerium illud allusisse videatur.  
Iliad. α. Τοῦτο κ' ἀπ' ἀλλοῦ ἔδωκεν ἐκκρόλῃ, ἥ δὲ ἐπὶ δώσει.

† Ἐξ ὅτε ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίστασι βασιλείᾳ, πᾶσι μὲν πεινῶντα σπῶν πάντα προσήγαγε καὶ τὰ σπῶν ἀφελῶν σφὶς ὑπεκρέοντες ἐμπροσθέντος ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτείας. Novel, 86. init.

|| Σπουδαίον πάντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους, ὧν τιμὴ διοίκησιν ὁ θεός ἡμῶν ἐπίστασιν, ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρέστους φυλάττειν. Nov. 85. init.

∴ Αἰὲ μὲν τὸ θεῶν βοηθείας πᾶσι ποικίλματα σθένους τὰ τοῦ ὑπεκρέοντος, τὸ παρὰ τὸ ὑπεκρέοντος φιλοφροσύνης παραδωδὲν ἡμῶν, ἀβλαβεῖς φυλάττειν. Novel, 80. init.

## The Power of the Prince.

61

from hurt the Subjects which he of his  
benignity hath committed unto us: and

\* we think it is manifest unto  
all those who are well-minded,  
that all our care and prayer is,  
that those may live well who are  
committed to our trust by God  
our Lord.

\* Πάντων ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἐν  
ἐν ὁρῶνσι περὶ δούλον εἶναι  
νομίζουσιν, ὅτι πάντων ἡμῶν  
ἐστὶ ἀποδὲ καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ, τὸ πρὸς  
ἀποδοδύνας ἡμῶν πρὸς τῷ  
δυνάμει Θεῷ ἡμεῖς βίω.

His Successor Justinus is by Corippus  
brought in speaking thus,

*Imperii Deus est virtus & gloria nostri,  
A quo certa salus, sceptrum datur atque  
potestas.*

God is the strength and glory of my  
Crown,  
From him my Safety, Scepter, Power  
come down.

Whereof he himself likewise  
giveth a touch in \* one of his  
Constitutions. And after him  
Tiberius acknowledgeth it  
was † God that gave him the  
Government of the Common-  
wealth, ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν,  
(our Sovereignty constituted by  
God) is a stile we meet with,

\* Τῆς παραδοδεύσεως ἡμῶν ἐκ  
Θεοῦ πολιτείας κηρύττονται. In-  
ter Justinianas Novel.  
148.

† Ἐξ ἡ τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν τὸ  
κεῖται δὲ δυνάμει οὐ διός.  
Tiber. Constitut. de divi-  
nis domibus Pra. at.

all

\* Appendic. βασιλικῶν ἀ  
Jo. Leunclavio. edit. p 14.  
& 90.

† Ἐννομεν ὀπισθεῖαν αἱ πα-  
λαι ποιοῖ τῶν βασιλευσιν ὀ-  
πισθεῖαν, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ ἐσμεν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ  
νοῦν θεῷ μεγαλομεν τῶν  
τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς διὰ τοῦ καὶ δι-  
δασκαλόν. Ibid. p. 176.

|| See in Octav. de Strada  
(de Imperatorib. Rom. p.  
338.) the Medal, wherein  
Christ is figured putting on  
a Garland upon the Empe-  
rours head.

.. Divinitus coronatus. E-  
man. Comnen. literæ ad  
Fridericum apud Albert.  
Stadenf. in Chronic. an.  
1179.

\* Gregor. epist. 2, 9, 14,  
17. Concil. tom. 3. part. 1.  
sect. 1. p. 340, 343, 344,  
346. edit. Colon. an. 1618.

† Concil. Roman. ibid. p.  
347.

|| Zachar. epist. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9,  
10, 12. ibid. p. 364, 366,  
367, 370, 371, 373, 375.

.. Paul epist. 1, & 2. ibid.  
p. 461, 402.

all in the \* Novels of *Constan-  
tius* and *Basilius Porphyrogen-  
etus*. And *Mannel Comnenus*

beginneth one of his thus,

† The wisdom of the Ancients  
designed Regal power to be a  
legal administration of things,  
a divine matter; and accord-  
ingly did both believe and pro-  
fess it to be a great part of the  
providence of God Almighty.

The same *Mannel* also both  
in his || *Coins* expressed, and  
in his *Letters* wrote himself  
to be .. crowned by God.

Which honourable title of  
*Deosephs* his predecessors the  
*Constantinopolitan* Emperours  
not onely of themselves assu-  
med, but the Bishops of *Rome*  
acknowledged due to them;

\* *Gregory* 2. (with the † *Ró-  
man* Council held under  
him;) || *Zachary* and .. *Paul* I.  
dating their Acts in this man-  
ner, *Imperante Domino piissi-  
mo Augusto, à Deo coronato,  
magno Imperatore*.

So Pope *Hadrian* I. beginneth one  
of his Letters to *Charles* the Great with

\* Me-



\* *Meminit vestra à Deo promota Regalis excellentia:* and Charles himself one of his capitulars with † *Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo in perpetuum*, ego Carolus, gratia Dei ejusque misericordia donante, Rex & rector regni Francorum. And when he was afterward crowned Emperour, the People of Rome with an unanimous consent used this solemn acclamation unto him, || *Carolo Augusto, A DEO CORONATO, Magno & Pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, Vita & Victoria.* Whereof Alcuinus also doth put him in mind, by telling him as in the general, that ∴ the Imperial dignity was ordained by God; so for his own particular, that this \* *Power was conferred on him by God, not for the Government of the World alone, but especially for the defence of the Church, and the gracing of Wisdom.* Among the German Emperours Frederiek I. maketh a like acknowledgment and profession, † *For-*

\* Tom. 2. Concil. Gallie p.122.

† Capitular. Aquisgranens. ibid. p.130.

|| Eginhard in annal. Franc. an. 801. Anonym. vita Caroli M. scriptor à P. Pithæo edit. Anastas. Bibliothecar. in vita Leon. 3. P.

∴. *Dignitas Imperialis à Deo ordinata.* Alcuinus Praef. in libros de S. Trinitate.

\* *Unde patenter agnosci poterit, non tantum Imperatoriam vestrae prudentiae potestatem à Deo ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiae praesidium & sapientiae decorem collatam.* Id. ep. 106.

† *Quoniam divina praedicante clementia solum Regiae Majestatis conscendimus, dignum est ut cujus praecellimus munere, illi omnino pareamus in opere.* Feudor. l. 2. tit. 27. de pace tenenda & ejus violat.

*asmuch*

asmuch as by the appointment of the divine clemency we have ascended to the throne of Regal Majesty, it is fit we should thoroughly obey him in our actions by whose gift we have attained to this preeminence. And Lewis of Baviere sheweth largely in one of his Rescripts out of the Canon Law

it self, that \* the Imperial Power and Authority is immediately from God alone: and in another, † by the counsel and consent of the Electors and the other Princes of the Empire, maketh a solemn declaration to the same purpose, that the Imperial dignity and power immediately dependeth upon God alone.

\* Ex quibus & aliis pluribus, qua brevitatibus causa dimittuntur, clare patet, quod potestas & autoritas Imperialis est immediate à solo Deo, & non à Papa. Ludov. Imp. apol. in append. ad Hen. Rebdorsensis annal. à M. Frehero edit.

† Ideo ad tantum malum evitandum, de consilio & consensu Electorum & aliorum Principum Imperii, declaramus quod Imperialis dignitas & potestas pendet immediate à solo Deo. Id. in lit. aliis apud. H. Balbum eplisc. Gurcensem in l. de coronat. ad Car. 5.

Yea, in the more ancient Times we have marks of this Truth from the very

Painters, who \* by corporeal things representing those which were incorporeal (as Isidore Pelusiotæ noteth) used to figure a single hand crowning the heads of Kings; to shew that

\* Ο ζωγραφῶν ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων τόλμης τῶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ποιήσωμαι) σωματοποιήσας τὰ ἀσώματα, χεῖρα γεγράφει ἐπὶ χειρὶ μόνῃ, σημαίνει τὸ ὅτι ἡ βασιλευσάντων τὰς κορυφάς, ἵνα δεξιῶν ὑπερέβηται αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. Isid. Pelus. l. 3. ep. 161.

their

## The Power of the Prince.

65

their authority descended to them from Heaven. Which expression of a divine act by a simple hand out of a cloud, as for the general, both in the *Greek Genesis* or *Latine Psalter* of Sir Robert Cotton, (the most ancient of any now extant, and coming not much short of *Isidorus* his own time) I have observed to be very usual: so for this particular you may note the continuation of the like emblem unto later Ages in \* this \* *Apud Octav. de Strada de Imperat. Rom. p. 294.* reverse of the Emperour *Theophylactus* his Medal, stamped about the Year **DCCCXII.**



Having

Having searched thus far into the ground of Sovereignty, and (by reasons and witnesses of all sorts) deduced the original thereof from no lower an head than Heaven it self, let us now look a little into those Royal Prerogatives which are annexed to the eminent estate of such supreme Governours. These *jura Majestatis*, of old, (for the more distinct notice, and better preservation of them) were sometimes written in a *Book*, sometimes engraven in *Tables of Brass*; and so transmitted safely to posterity. Thus when \* *Samuel* had declared to the People this *jus Regium*, it is said, that *he wrote it in a Book, and laid it up before the Lord*: and when the *Jews* had chosen *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* for their Prince, they caused the chief heads of that Supreme Power committed unto him, † *to be put in Tables of Brass, and to be set up within the compass of the Sanctuary in a conspicuous place*: Wherein, beside the charge of the *Sanctuary*, and the care of placing Officers over the *Works*, the *Country*, the *Armour*, and the *Fortresses*, it was further enacted, That *he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the Writings in the Country should be made*

\* 1 Sam. 10. 25.

† 1 Mac. 14. 18.

made in his name, and that he should be clothed in Purple, and wear Gold. Also that it should be lawful for none of the People or Priests to break any of these things, or to gain-say his words, or to gather an Assembly in the Countrey without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of Gold. And whosoever should do otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished. Where among other things, it is observable, that the gathering of Assemblies is reckoned as an especial privilege of the Prince. To which purpose both remarkable and agreeable is that of Isocrates, who under the person of King Nicocles thus instructs his Subjects; \* *Make no Societies nor Conventicles without my licence: Assemblies of this kind, as in other Governments they are hurtful, so in Monarchies they are exceeding dangerous. Whereunto that of Mecenas in Dio may be likewise added, † Combinations, and Assemblies, and Associations, are things that do not very well consist with a Monarchy.*

\* Εταιρείαι μὴ ποιεῖτε, μήτε συνόδους, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐμὸν γνόμενός ἐστι· αἱ δὲ τοιαύται συστάσεις, ἐν μὲν ἡ ἀλλοῖς πολιτείας πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ἡ βασιλευσίνων κινδυνεύουσιν.  
Isoc. in Nicocle.

† Συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἐταιρείαι τὸ ἵκισται μοναρχίᾳ συμφέρει. Dio hist. rom. l. 52. Vid. tit. de Colleg. & Corpor. in Pandect.

When

\* *Rome senatus  
cuncta principi-  
bus solita Vespasiano  
decernit.*  
Corn. Tacitus  
hist. l. 4.

When \* the Senate of Rome had decreed to *Vespasian* such rights as did usually belong to Princes, the particulars (according to the manner above mentioned) were put into brass Tables; the last of which is still there extant; removed from the *Lateran Church* (where it stood fixed a long while) unto the *Capitol*: In that, beside the

† *Fœdusve cum quibus volet  
facere liceat. Vesp. Inscript.*  
à Grutero edit. p. 242.

¶ *utique quibus legibus ple-  
bisve scitis scriptum fuit ne  
Divus Aug. Tiberiusve Ju-  
lius Caesar Aug. Tiberiusque  
Claudius Caesar Aug. Germa-  
nicus tenerentur, iis legibus  
plebisque scitis Imp. Caesar  
Vespasianus solutus sit Ibid.*  
• Δέλω δὲ νόμον, ὡς αὐ-  
τὰ τὰ Λατίνων ῥήματα λέ-  
γει, τέστιν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀ-  
ναρχίας νομιστοῦς εἶσι, καὶ  
ἀντὶ τοῦ γεγεμμένων ἐνέ-  
ργεια. Dion. hist. Rom.  
l. 53.

power of † *confederating with whom he would*, and many other priviledges, we find this high Prerogative confirmed unto him, ¶ that what Laws soever either of the Senate or People it was ordained that the Emperours his predecessors were not tied to, from those he should be loose also: Which, according to the mind of the Civilians, is expressed thus, ∴ *They are loosed from the Laws, (as the letter of their own Language speaks) that is, they are free from all coactive obedience to them, and are held by none of the written Ordinances: shewing that they were exempted, first, from all coercion of the Law,*

Law, (this being accounted  
\* the happiest thing in a Prince-  
dom, that the Prince may be  
constrained to nothing) and  
then from all obligation to  
the written or positive Law,  
which here is opposed to  
that which Tully calleth the  
† not written, but innate Law;  
|| from which (as he well ob-  
serveth) neither by the Senate  
nor by the People exemption  
can be given.

\* Ereptumque principi illud  
in principatu beatissimum,  
quod nihil cogitur. Plin. Pa-  
negyr. ad Trajan.

† Est hæc non scripta, sed na-  
ta lex; quam non didicimus,  
accepimus, legimus, verum ex  
natura ipsa arripimus, hæn-  
simus, expressimus; ad quam  
non docti, sed facti, non in-  
stituti, sed imbuti sumus. Cic.  
orat. pro Milone.

|| Huic legi nec obrogari fas  
est, neque derogari ex hac

aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest: nec vero aut per Senatum aut per  
Populum solvi hac lege possumus. Id. l. 3. de Republ. apud Lactant. l. 3. c. 8.

For the more full understanding here-  
of, observe we the distinction to be  
made between these three kinds of  
Laws, the Law of God, the Law of the  
King, and that which is Gods Law and  
the Kings together. Under the first of  
these we comprehend also the Law of  
Nature, of which (as the same Tully  
rightly noteth) \* God, that one common

\* Hæc erit com-  
munis quasi ma-  
gister & Impe-  
rator omnium  
Deus ille, legis  
hujus inventor,  
disceptator, la-  
tor; cui qui non  
parebit, ipse se

sugiet, ac naturam hominis spernabitur, atque hoc ipso luet maximas penas,  
etiam si cætera supplicia quæ putantur effugerit. Id. ib. Hanc videt sapientissi-  
morum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitam, nec sci-  
tum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam quod universum mundum re-  
geret, imperandi prohibendique sapientia. Itæ principem legem illam & ultimam  
mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut verantis Dei. Id. l. 2. de Leg.

K

Master

Master and Ruler of all, is the Inventor, Arbitrator, and Enactter; which he who will not obey, must in a sort fly from himself, and reject mans nature; and consequently undergo the greatest pains from his own conscience, although he should escape all those other which commonly are accounted punishments. Now to this moral Law

\* Rom. 2. 14,  
15.

of God, whether \* by nature thus written in the hearts of men, or more fully delivered in Gods own written Word, or by just consequence deduced from the grounds of either of them, the greatest Monarch upon earth owes as much obedience as the lowest and meanest of all his Subjects: And therefore

the Civilians themselves, † who deny the King to be subject unto other Laws, do yet declare that these || general Laws ought to prevail even against him also. Concerning which, hear what John of Sarisbury writeth, ∴ There

† Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις  
ἐχέτωκεν. Basilic. l. 2. tit.  
6. c. 1. Harmenopul. epit.  
juris l. 1. tit. 1. sect. 48.

‡ Κατὰ βασιλέως οἱ νόμοι  
ἐξείκτωσαν νόμοι. Basilic.  
ibid. c. 9. Harmenopul. ib.  
sect. 39.

∴ Sunt autem praecepta quaedam perpetuam habentia necessitatem, apud omnes gentes legitima, & quae omnino impune solvi non possunt. Ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia,

omnes lex una constringit, 'Quod tibi non vis fieri alii ne feceris; & quod tibi vis fieri hoc facias aliis. Procedant nunc dealbatores potentum, susurrant, & (si hoc parum est) publice praekonentur, Principem non esse legi subiectum, & quod ei placet (non modo in jure secundum formam aequitatis condendo, sed qualitercunque) legis habere vigorem. Regem, quem legis nexibus subtrahunt, si volunt & audent, ex legem faciant: Ego non modo his venientibus, sed mundo reclamante, ipsos hac lege teneri confirmo. Jo. Sarisb. Polyc. l. 4. c. 7.

are



are certain Precepts which have a perpetual necessity, are currant with all Nations, and which by no means without guilt may be broken. Before the Law, under the Law, and under Grace, this one Law did bind all. 'What thou wouldst not have 'done to thy self, do not thou unto 'another; and what thou wouldst have 'done unto thy self, the same do thou 'unto others. Let those parjetters of great men now come forth, let them whisper, or (if that be too little) let them preach publicly, that the Prince is not subject to the Law, and that what pleaseth him (not onely in the making of a Law, according to the tenour of equity, but any way whatsoever) hath the force of a Law. Let them, if they will and they dare, make the King, whom they exempt from all obligation of the Law, to be a lawless person: Whatever not onely they, but the whole World shall say to the contrary, I will stand to it, that they are bound by this Law.

For although \*the King be Lord of all, yet is he the Servant of God together with all: Nay, for Gods Law, we find that the King had this particular charge laid upon him above others, † It shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a

\* Kvet. 12  
πᾶντων ὄντων ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ὁ  
λαοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ  
πᾶντος ὁ  
ἀγαπᾷ  
Paræn. ad Jus  
stinian. c. 68.  
† Deut. 17, 18.  
19, 20.

copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law and these Statutes to do them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his children in the midst of Israel. Whereupon Philo bringeth in the King using this Soliloquy,

\* Ἐγὼ πάντ' ἐγγράφα ὁ  
 παῖς τῶ ἀρχῶν, μὴ περὶ  
 χρημάτων ὑπερέτη ἐπέ-  
 ρω, μνησίων ὄντων, &c. ὅπως  
 αὐτὰ ἐν βίβλῳ γράψων, ἐν-  
 δὺς εἰς τὴν ψυχῇ μεταγράψω,  
 καὶ ἐναπομαθήσμαι τῇ δια-  
 νοίᾳ θεοτέρως καὶ ἀνεκπλή-  
 τως χάρι' ἵκεται. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς βασιλείας ἐ-  
 χορῆς σκηπτοφορεῖσιν, ἐμοὶ  
 δὲ τὸ σκηπτρον ἡ βίβλος ἐστίν  
 τὸ ἐπινοοῦν, κτύχμα καὶ  
 κλέος ἀναβλαστῶν, ὁπί-  
 σθημον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπλήρη-  
 τος ἀρχεποινῆς καὶ θεῶν βα-  
 σιλείων ἀπεικονισμένης. Philo  
 in libro de creatione  
 Principis.

\* I being so great a Prince did write these things, not using any other Scribe, having so many thousands under me: to the end that while I did write them in the Book I might transcribe them into my soul, and imprint in my mind those divine characters never to be washed out again. Whereas other Kings therefore bear Staves for their Scepter, this abridgment of the Law shall be my Scepter, my rejoicing and glory uncontrollable, the ensign of that unreprouable Government which is fashioned according

according to the pattern of Gods own Kingdom. So that nothing hereby is detracted either from the Liberty of the King, while he is made subject unto him whose service is perfect freedom; or from his power, while he is left \* to do nothing else but that which God shall commend. For while hereby we † temper the Majesty of Caesar (as Tertullian speaketh) under God, we commend him the more to God, unto whom alone we do subject him: he being || therefore great, because he is less than heaven.

By the Law of the King I understand such Ordinances as are meerly civil and positive; the coactive power whereof being derived from him who is the supreme Law-giver under God on earth, he himself cannot properly be said to be tied thereby. For as with the Grammarians the Imperative Mood hath no first person, so with the Civilians \* No man can command or forbid himself; at leastwise, † No man can impose such a Law upon himself, but that he may re-

tem, § Uxori quis D. de donat. inter vir. † Nemo eam sibi potest legem dicere, ut à proore ei recedere non liceat. Hei mog. in l. Si quis § 1. D. de leg. 3.

\* *Ἡλίως ἑστίας ἔχει ἀν-  
δραπότη, μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ὅ  
τις μάλιστα ὁ Θεὸς ἐπαυεῖν.*  
M. Antonin. l. 12. de vita  
sua.

† *Temperans majestatem Cæ-  
saris infra Deum, magis illum  
commendo l' eo, cui soli subji-  
cio.* Tertul. apol. c. 33.

|| *Ideo magnus est, quia cælo  
minor est.* Id. ibid. c. 30.

\* *Neque impe-  
rare sibi neque  
se prohibere  
quisquam potest.*  
Marcian in l.  
Si de re sua. De  
recept. arbit.  
Vid. & Ulpian.  
in l. Ille à quo,  
§ Tempesti-  
vum, D. ad Se-  
nat. Trebel. &  
in l. Quod au-

## The Power of the Prince.

cede from it when he pleaseth. And with the Schoolmen, \* *A Law hath power to direct such Acts as belong to those who are subject to the government of another; whereupon no man, if we speak properly, doth impose a Law upon his own Acts.* As

no man therefore is superiour to himself, so no man hath jurisdiction over himself; because none can oblige a man against his will, but onely his superiour; and the jurisdiction over a mans self may be dissolved at pleasure. To which kind of voluntary submission unto the Laws that memorable saying of *Valentinian* the younger may be referred,

† *It is in truth a greater thing than the Empire to submit the Princedom it self unto the Laws: and that of Alexander Severus, || Although the Law of the Empire hath freed the Emperour from the solemnities of the Law; yet nothing is so proper for Empire as to live*

† *Revera majus Imperio est submittere legibus Principatum. l. 4. C. de leg. & constitut.*

|| *Licet lex Imperii solenni-bus juris Imperatorem solve-rit, nihil tamen tam proprium Imperii est quam legibus vi-vere. l. 3. C. de Testam.*

\* *Secundum hoc by the Laws, and that which both Seve-  
D. D. Severus rus and Antonius set down so oft in their  
& Antonius se- Rescripts, \* Although we be loosed from  
pissime rescripse-  
runt, Licet enim  
(inquiunt) legibus soluti simus, attamen legibus vivimus. Institur. Quibus  
modis Testam. infirmetur. § ult. the*

the Laws, yet we live by the Laws. Whereunto also we may add that commendation which *Plutarch* giveth to *Alexander the Great*, that \* he conceived he ought to be thought superiour unto all men, yet subject to Justice: and *Pliny* to *Trajan*, † He thinks himself to be one of us; and so much the more excellent and eminent he is, that he so thinketh, and no less remembreth that he is a Man, than that he is a Ruler of men. || For he who hath nothing left to increase his height, hath but this one way to grow by, if he submit himself, being secure of his greatness. And in his direct Speech to the Emperour himself, ∴ Thou esteemest us the same, and thy self the same; equal unto all, and in this onely greater than the rest, that thou art better than they. And more nearly to our present purpose, \*Thou hast made thy self subject to the Laws, O *Cæsar*, which were not written to restrain the Prince by. But

K 4

\* Πάντων οὐδὲν ὅτι μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ δικαίον ὅτι ἡμεῖς. Plur. de fortuna *Alexandri* orat. 2.

† Unum ille se ex nobis; & hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat; nec minus hominem se, quam hominibus præesse meminit. *Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.*

|| Nam cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic nullo modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis sue. Idem ibid.

∴ Eodem nos, eundem te putas; par omnibus, & hoc tantum ceteris major, quo melior. Idem ibid.

\* Ipse te legibus subiecisti, legibus, *Cæsar*, quas nemo principis scripsit: Sed tu nihil amplius vis tibi licere quam nobis. Idem ibid.

thou

thou wilt have nothing more lawful to thee than is to us. Such written Laws as these, no doubt, *Justinian* the Emperour meant, when upon the enacting of a Constitution of this kind, he addeth thereunto this limitation,

\* Πάντων τῶν εἰρηδικῶν ἡμῶν ἢ βασιλέως ἢ κληράδου τύχη, ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς νόμου υποτέλειται, νόμον αὐτῷ ἐμψυχον καὶ ἀπέμψας ἀνθρώποις. *Justinian. Nov. 105.*

\* *From all those things that have been said by us let the Emperours state be excepted, whereunto GOD hath subjected the very Laws themselves, sending him as a living Law unto men.*

Who therefore in another place assumeth unto himself the title of a *Father of the Law*: whereupon the Glossator maketh this observation,

† Nota Imperatorem vocari patrem legis; unde & leges sunt ei subiectæ. Gloss. in *Novel. 12. c. 4.*

† *Note that the Emperour is the Father of the Law; whereupon the Laws also are subject to him.* For such positive

Laws as these, being (as other Works of men are) imperfect, and not free from many discommodities, if the strict observation thereof should be pursued in every particular; it is fit the *supreme* Governour should not himself onely be exempted from subjection thereunto, but also be so far Lord over them, that where he seeth cause he may abate or totally remit the penalty incurred by the

the breach of them, dispense with others for the not observing of them at all, yea, and generally suspend the execution of them, when by experience he shall find the inconveniences to be greater than the profit that was expected should redound thereby unto the Commonwealth. *Plutarch* setteth this down as a chief point of that natural skill which *Philopœmen* had in Government,

that he \* *did not onely rule according to the Laws, but over-ruled the Laws themselves, when he found it conducing to the Weal-publick.* Such Laws as these *St. Augustine* calleth temporal †; which although they be just, yet in time may justly also suffer a change. That being most true of them which *Portius Cato* saith in *Livy*, || *No Law is equally commodious unto all; that chiefly is looked to, if it be convenient for the greater part: and Sextus Calicius* in *Gellius*, ∴ *The opportunities and remedies of Laws according to the manners of the Times, the determining is servoribus, mutari atque flecti, neque uno statu consistere, quin ut*

\* Οὕτως ἡγαγονικῶς οὖσαν  
ἐχων, ὡς καὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀρξεν ἡγεμονικῶς  
ὡς τὸ συμφέρον. *Plutarch.*  
in comparat. *Flaminii* &  
*Philopœmen*.

† Appellemus istam legem, si  
placet, temporalem; quæ  
quamvis justa sit, commutari  
tamen per tempora juxta potest.  
*Aug. de lib. arbitr. l. 1. c. 6.*

|| Nulla lex satis commoda  
omnibus est; id modo queri-  
tur si majori parti & in sum-  
mum prodest. *Porcii Cat. orat.*  
pro lege *Oppia*, apud *Liv.*  
initio l. 34.

∴ Non ignoras, legum oppor-  
tunitates & medelas pro tem-  
porum moribus, & pro rerum  
publicarum generibus, ac pro  
utilitatibus presentium rationi-  
bus, proque vitiorum quibus  
facies

cies cæli & maris, ita rerum atque fortuna tempestatibus variantur? A. Gel-  
lius l. 20. c. 1. cum illo Justinian Imp. de reformatione juris Romani.  
Multa & maxima sunt, que propter utilitatem rerum transformata sunt. L. 2.  
Cod. de veteri jure enucleando, & in Proæmio Novel. 107. ἡ δὲ τῶν  
μακρῶν πικυρία καὶ ἡ φύσις τὰς συχρῶς μεταβάλλουσι, οὐδὲν δὲ νόμον ἐκεί-  
νων ἑπαινοῦσώμενος ἡμετέρας παρεπιδείσθαι.

verse Forms of Government, the regard  
of present conveniences, and the height of  
publick enormities, are changed and fitted.  
They remain not in one and the same state;  
but, as the face of the Weather and of the  
Seas, are varied with the tempests of acci-  
dents and emergent occasions. So Tertul-

\* Si lex tua erravit, puto ab  
homine concepta est; nec enim  
de cælo ruit: Miramini ho-  
minem aut errare potuisse in  
lege condenda, aut respicuisse  
in reprobanda? Tert. apol.  
C. 4.

† Naturalia quidem jura, que  
apud omnes gentes peræque ob-  
servantur, divina quadam pro-  
videntia constituta, semper  
firma atque immutabilia per-  
manent: ea vero que ipsa si-  
bi quæque civitas constituit  
sæpe mutari solent, vel tacito  
consensu populi, vel alia postea  
tegelata. Instit. l. 1. de  
jur. natural. § 11. cum l.  
De quibus causis 31. D. de  
legibus.

lian, \* If there have been an  
error in the Law, I hope it  
was conceived by a man; for  
from heaven surely it fell not:  
and is it any wonder that a  
man either should err in ma-  
king of a Law, or shew an af-  
ter-wisdom in rejecting it?  
For † the Laws of Nature in-  
deed-(saith Justinian) which  
are equally observed among all  
Nations, and as it were by  
Gods providence appointed, do  
remain always firm and immu-  
table; but those which every  
Commonwealth maketh unto it  
self use often to be changed, ei-  
ther by the tacit consent of the  
People,



People, or by another Law brought in after-  
ward. As it fell out in Draco his Laws,

which \*because they seemed to  
be sharp above measure, were  
obliterated, not by any decree  
or command, but by a silent and  
unwritten agreement of the  
Athenians. And while the  
Laws do stand in force, † it is  
fit that sometimes the Kings  
clemency should be mingled  
with the severity of them; espe-  
cially when by that means the  
Subjects may be freed from  
much detriment and damage:

¶ the condition of the Magi-  
strates, whose sentence is held  
corrupt, if it be milder than the  
Laws, being one thing; the  
Power of Princes, whom it be-  
cometh to qualifie the sharpness  
of them, a far different matter.  
Wherein we may hear again,  
if you please, the opinion of  
John of Sarisbury, ∴ I do not,  
saith he, take away the dispen-  
sing with the Law out of the  
hands of the Powers; but such  
Precepts or Prohibitions, as  
have a perpetual right, are not,

\* Ejus leges, quoniam vide-  
bantur impudico acerbiores,  
non decreto jussuque, sed ta-  
cito illiteratoque Athenien-  
sium consensu, oblitterata sunt.  
A. Gellius l. 11. c. 18. Legum  
enim ipsarum jussa consen-  
su tacito oblitterantur. Id.  
l. 12. c. 13.

† Τῇ αὐτῇ νόμων ἀρεσκία καὶ  
βασιλικὴ ἐνέγκαιμι καὶ φι-  
λαδελφείας ὄντι, ὅτι αὐτῶν  
ἐπεσφραγισμένων νόμων, καὶ  
ἐκείνων νόμων πρὸς κοινὸν  
πᾶσις ἐνείκεται καὶ βασιλεὺς  
ἐκαστοῦ τοῦ τοῦ νόμου ἐ-  
κδοῦναι. Justin. Junior Imp.  
in Praefatione Constit. 3.

¶ Alia est conditio Magi-  
stratum quorum corrupta vi-  
dentur esse sententia si sint  
legibus mitiores; alia Domi-  
norum Principum potestas, quos  
docet acrimoniam severi juris  
inflectere. Symmach. l. 10.  
ep. ult.

∴ Nec tamen dispensationem  
legi subtraho manibus potesta-  
tum; sed perpetuam praeceptio-  
nem aut prohibitionem habenti-  
bus, libitu eorum nequaquam  
arbitror supponenda. In his  
itaque duntaxat quae mobilia  
sunt, dispensatio verborum ad-  
mittitur; ita tamen ut com-  
pensatione honestatis aut uti-  
litatis mens legis integra con-  
servetur. Jo. Sarisf. Pol. l. 4. c. 7.

as I think to be subjected unto their will and pleasure. In those things therefore onely which are mutable, the dispensation with the letter of the Law is to be admitted; yet so as by the compensation of honesty or utility the intention of the Law may be entirely preserved.

The Law both of God and the King is that wherein the thing commanded is a part of Gods Law; but the sanction

\* or civil punishment, whereby men are deterred from the breach thereof, is by the Prince added thereunto. According to that which we read in the Edict of King Artaxerxes, || *Who-soever will not do the Law of God and the Law of the King, let judgment be speedily executed upon him; whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment: and that place* in St. Augustine, † *How do Kings serve God in fear, but when with a religious severity they forbid and punish those things which are done against the commandment of God?*

For

\* *Legum eas partes quibus pœnas constituimus adversus eos, qui contra leges fecerint, sanctiones vocamus. Instit. l. 2. de rerum divis. sect. 11. Sanctis legum novissime certam pœnam irrogat iis qui præceptis legis non obtemperaverint. Papinian. in l. 41. D. de pœnis.*

|| *Ezr. 7. 26.*

† *Quomodo ergo Reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea que contra iussa Domini sunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliiter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam Rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter: quia vero etiam rex est, servit, leges iusta præcipientes & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sanciendo. August. epist. 50. ad Bonifacium Comitem.*

## The Power of the Prince.

81

For as a man he serveth God one way, as a King another way: As a man he serveth him by his own living well, as a King by setting out and backing with Power fitting such Laws as command just things, and forbid the contrary. In Laws of this nature, to the precept it self, as coming from God, the King is bound to yield obedience as well as others: but from the penalty annexed thereunto he is exempted. The reason is, because the inflicting of punishment is an act of a Superiour to an Inferiour: and therefore though a Father or Master were never so faulty, none would be so absurd as to think, that their Servants or Children might chastise them. But to make any one upon earth superiour to the supreme Governour, would imply a manifest contradiction: so that we must of necessity come to that conclusion of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, that \* of a free Monarch none may be Judge but God alone.

Which is the same which before we have heard from Rabbi *Jeremiah*, that no creature may judge the King but God: and is confirmed not onely by *Ecphantas* the Pythagorean, who maketh it the privilege,

\* Πῶς ἂν ἀνθρώπος ὁ Θεὸς  
μὴν & νεῖρον δικάζῃ. Xi-  
phil. Excerpt. ex Dionis  
M. Aurelio.

\* Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτῷ μὲν ἀρχεῖν, ἀρχῶν δὲ τῶν ὑποκειμένων. Epiphani. apud Stobæum Serm. 46.

† Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum; & quicquid est, à Deo consequentem, & solo Deo minorem. Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 2.

|| In cuius solius potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi. Idem in apolog. c. 30.

∴ Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem. Optat. adversus Parmenian. l. 3.

\* Βασιλεὺς δὲ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ ὅλης ἐκείνης τοῦ ὄντος πάντων. Jo. Chrysost. hom. 2, ad pop. Antioch.

† Οὐκ ἔχει δὲ ὅτι γῆς ἢ αὐτοῦ ὑποτάσσων. Agapet. Paran. c. 21.

|| De populo si quis erraverit, & Deo peccat & Regi: Nam quando Rex delinquit, soli Deo reus est, quia hominem non habet qui ejus facta dijudicat. Cassiod. in Psal. 50.

privilege, \* first of God, and then of the King under him, not to be ruled by any; but also by the general consent of the ancient Christians. For such was the profession of Tertullian, † We worship the Emperour as a man next unto God, and who hath obtained of God whatsoever he is, and is less than God onely. || In whose power alone he is, from whom he is the second, and after whom the first. And of Optatus, ∴ There is none above the Emperour but God alone, who made the Emperour: he being \* the top and head of all men upon earth, as Chrysostom: and † having none higher than himself upon earth, as Agapetus speaketh. || If any of the People commit a fault, saith Cassiodorus, he sinneth to God and the King; but when the King offendeth he standeth guilty unto God alone, because he hath no man who is to be judge of his doings. Every one who liveth under Authority

riety, saith \* *Arnobius*, when he offends sinneeth against God, and the Laws of this World also; but the King, as living under God alone, and having no Power above his own to fear but Gods onely, when he sinneeth, offendeth God alone and none other.

Upon which grounds *Constantinus Harmenopolus*, the Greek abridger of the

Civil Law, declareth † the King not to be subject to the Laws, because offending against them he is not punished.

The same reason is also rendered by Saint *Ambrose*, why || *Kings are tied by no Laws*, because they are not called to punishment by them, being warranted by the power of their Empire. As *Symmachus* saith of ∴ Factors imployed in remote Countries, that they live as it were loosed from the Laws, because that being so far off they stand not in any fear of their Masters.

de leg. Princeps legibus solutus est; intelligunt de poenariis legibus, ad quas princeps non tenetur; ut in lege Julia & Papia de poena Caduci, de qua ibi agit *Ulpianus*. Cujac. l. 15. observ. 30. Connan. l. 1. Comment. jur. c. 16. Vasquez. l. 1. Controv. illustr. c. 2. n. 1. Christianæ decis. 9. n. 13.

\* Omnis qui sub iudicio vivit, cum deliquerit peccat Deo, peccat & legibus mundi: Hic autem Rex sub nullo alio nisi sub Deo solo agens, ipsum solum super potestatem suam metuens, Deo soli peccavit. *Arnob. jun. in eund. Psal.*

† Ο βασιλεὺς νόμους ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ αἱ πόλεις, καὶ οἱ νόμοι. *Harmenopol. epitom. juris l. 1. tit. 1. sect. 48.*

|| Peccavit David, quod solent reges, sed poenitentiam gessit, & indulgentiam petebat, qui nullis tenebatur legibus HUMANIS: *Ambros. apol. David. c. 4.* Rex utique erat, nullis ipse legibus tenebatur; quia liberi sunt reges a vinculis delictorum: Neque enim ullis ad poenam vocantur legibus, nisi Imperii potestate. *Idem. c. 10.*

∴ Attiores absentium, quibus res longinqua remittitur, tanquam soluti legibus vivunt, quoniam procul positis nullus dominorum terror incurrit. *Symmach. l. 9. epist. 6.* Illud *Ulpiani* in leg. Princeps D.

For

For to this end, saith *Isidorus Hispanensis*, \* were Laws made, that by fear of them the boldness of men might be restrained, and that innocency might be safe among the wicked; and that in the wicked themselves the power of doing hurt might be bridled

by the fear of punishment. Which end having no place in the King, (who, as

*S. Hierom* also noteth, † stands not in fear of any other) this difference herein he observes between him and his People, that || they in occasion of offence have the Judge to fear and the Laws to curb them; the King hath nothing but the fear of God and the terror of Hell to restrain him from running

headlong into all Vice. So that Kings wanting this help, which others have, of containing them within their duties, what they in this point do, doth not proceed from the fear of any civil punishment, but from the fear of God.

\* Facta sunt leges, ut earum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque sit inter improbos innocentia; & in ipsis improbis, formidato supplicio, refrænetur nocendi facultas. *Isidor. Origin. l. 5. c. 20.*

† Rex erat, alium non timebat. *Hieron. epist. 22. ad Eustochium, & 46. ad Rusticum.*

|| Populi peccantes iudicem metuunt, & à malo suo legibus coercentur: Reges autem, nisi solo Dei timore metuque gehennæ coerceantur, libere in præceptis prouunt. *Isidor. Sentent. l. 3. c. 50.*

† Σαυτὸς ὁ θυ-  
λασθὲν τοῦ νό-  
μου ἐπὶ τῆς α-  
νάγκης, ὡς μὴ

ἔχον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγκῆς ἀναγκάζειν· ἔτι καὶ τοῦ νόμου ἐπαρθεὶς τὸ σέβας, αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τότε αἰδέμενος καὶ πρὸς τῶν κακῶν παύσει τὸ ἐργασθῆναι ἐκ ἀκινδυνου. *Agapet. Paræn. c. 27.*

Hereupon *Agapetus* giveth this grave advice to the Emperour *Justinian*, † Im-

pose

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pose upon thy self a necessity of observing the Laws, because there is none on earth that can constrain thee: Not onely what respect thou bearest to them will appear, if thou first thy self reverence them; but thy Subjects will then plainly see how dangerous it will be to break them. So also

Isidore, \* It is just that the Prince should obey his own Laws; for let him then make account that his Laws shall be observed by all, when as he himself shall shew reverence unto them. And St. Ambrose to the Emperour Valentinian, † What thou hast prescribed unto others thou hast prescribed also unto thy self; for the Emperour maketh Laws which he himself should first keep. To which purpose likewise Xenophon putteth this || among the greatest benefits which Agesilaus King of the Spartans brought unto his Country, that being the most powerful in the State to the Laws he was most obsequious: for who, saith he, would be disobedient to them, when he saw the King himself submit to them?

L

But

\* Justum est Principem legibus obtemperare suis; Tunc enim jura sua ab omnibus custodienda existimet, quando & ipse illis reverentiam praebet. Isid. Sentent. l. 3. c. 51.

† Quod cum praescripisti alii, praescripisti & tibi: leges enim Imperator fert, quas primus ipse custodiat. Ambros. l. epist. 3.

|| Εν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθήμασι τὸ πατεῖν καὶ τὸδε ἐστὶν ἡ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δυνατὸν τῷ ὄντι τῇ πόλει φανερὸς ἦν μέγιστα τοῖς νόμοις λαβεῖν. Τίς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἠδύναται ἀπειθεῖν ἀπὸν τὸ βασιλεὺς περὶ νόμων; Xenoph. orat. de Agesilao.

But what speak I of *Agésilas*, a petty Prince, not worthy of a Kings title, in comparison of that potent and absolute Monarch *Cyrus*? whom the same *Xenophon*, as a most perfect pattern in this

kind thus propounds unto us,

\* Τὸς ὃ περιεχέας ἑαυτοῦ ἐνόμισε μάλιστα, ὅτι τὰ χαλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ παρρημῶν ἔργα (ἐπειὶ οὗ ἦν ἄρχων αὐτοῦ) εἰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιεικνύειν πειρώτο τοῖς ἀρχεμετέροις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ αἰδανεύσας ἢ γὰρ ἐδοκίμα καὶ εἰδὼ τοῦ χειροτέρου νόμου βέλτερος χειροτέρος ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὃ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχόντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώπου ἐνόμισεν ὅτι καὶ ταπεινὸν ἰσχυρὸς δεῖ καὶ ὀρεῖν καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ πολεῖν. *Xenoph. de instit. Cyri* l. 8.

\* Καὶ συνεστῶν ὃ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύς μᾶλλον ἐπίεικε καὶ ταῦτις πάντας ἀσχεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ὀρεῖται ὃ μάλιστα ἔχειν ὑβρίζειν, τὸτον συνεστῶντα, ὅτε μᾶλλον οἷον αἰδανέσθαι ἐδέχασιν ὅτιν ὑβριστὸν ποιῶντες παρρημῶν ἔργα. *Ibid.*

\* Those which were in his view he thought by this means he might best excite unto good and landable actions, if he himself, being their Prince, did endeavour to declare himself unto his Subjects to be more adorned with vertue than all of them. For this observation he made, That by the written Laws indeed men were made better; but he esteemed a good Prince to be a seeing Law unto men, as being able both to order matters, and both to behold and punish such as behaved themselves disorderly. Shewing moreover moderation in himself, he made all others to exercise that vertue the more. For when he who may be most insolent appears regular, the meaner sort

will have more care not to be disordered.

And



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And generally that is most true which is observed by Tully, that

\* *As by the unbridled affections of the Magistrate the City usually is infected, so is it amended and rectified by his moderation: according to that of Seneca,*

\* *Ne enim cupiditatibus principum & vitiis infici solet tota civitas, sic emendari & corrigi continentia. Cic. l. 3. delegib.*

† *Rex velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet.* \* Senec. in Thyeste act. 2.

If the Prince just things respect,  
Subjects will the same affect.

And Ovid,

|| *Sic agitur censura, & sic exempla parantur;* † Ovi d. Fast. L 6.

*Si iudex alios quod monet ipse facit.*

Rulers prove Censors, and for Pat-  
terns stand,  
When first themselves observe what  
they command.

For \* *the life of the Prince is a censure, and that a perpe-*

\* *Nam vita Principis censura est, eaque perpetua: Ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc converti-*

*mur: nec tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus; melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ in primis hoc in se boni habent, quod approbant quæ præcipiant fieri posse. Plin. Panegy.*

L 2

tual

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tual one. To it we direct, to it we turn our selves; having not so much need of command as of example. For fear is no such trusty teacher of right; men are better instructed by examples, which have this good in them especially, that they give proof that the things commanded may be done. So saith Pliny in his Panegyrique

\* *Flexibilis in  
quacunque  
partem ducimur  
a principe; at-  
que, ut ita di-  
cam, sequaces  
sumus. Idem  
ibid.*

to Trajan, where he noteth that \*we are flexible every way to follow whither the Prince shall lead us. And so after him Claudian in his Panegyrique upon the fourth Consulship of Honorius,

—— ——— *Tunc observantior equi  
Fit populus, nec ferre negat, cum vide-  
rit ipsum*

*Auctorem parere sibi. Componitur orbis  
Regis ad exemplum: nec sic inflectere  
sensus*

*Humanos edicta valent quàm vita re-  
gentis.*

Laws are best kept by Subjects, when they find

The giver keeps them first. All them- selves bind

To his example: nor can Edicts sway Mens minds so much as Rulers that obey.

As

As Tacitus also noteth in the example of *Vespasian*, that \* the desire of pleasing and imitating the Prince, wrought more than either punishment of Laws, or fear: and on the other side, *Mecenas* in *Dio* telleth *Cæsar*, that † if the People should once discover that he prescribed one thing to them, and did himself another, they would not fear his threats, but imitate his actions.

Kings therefore are said to be above the Laws whereby they govern their People, partly in respect of themselves, partly in respect of others: Of others, inasmuch as they have power to judge

\* according to their own conscience, and not according to the letter of the Law; as also † to dispense in some cases with the very obedience, in some with the punishment required by the Law. As when a man is thereby condemned unto banishment, the Prince, if he see cause, may revoke him from thence: and therein

\* *Obsequium in principem, & emulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus, & metus.* Tacit. Annal. l. 3.

† *Ὅτι ἂν ἅπαρ καταμάτωσι τι ἄλλα μὴ αὐτοῖς παραγομένοντα ἄλλα ἢ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν τα, & τὰς ἀπειλὰς σφοδρῶνται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.* Dio hist. Rom. l. 52.

\* *Princeps est supra legem; adeo quod secundum conscientiam suam judicare potest.* Cynus in l. Rescript. Cod. de precib. Imper. offerend.

† *Est etiam princeps supra legem; in quantum si expediens fuerit, potest legem mutare, & in ea dispensare pro loco & tempore.* Thom. in 1. 2. qu. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

\* Magna & justa causa est  
ejus voluntas. Accurs. gloss.  
in l. 4. D. de poenis.

† Εἰδὼν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς  
τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐκείνου εἰς τὸ ζῶν  
ἐπανιόντας ὅς οὐ μὴ νόμος  
ἐκείνους ἀπῆλθε. ὁ δὲ τῆς νόμου  
κρίσει ἐκείνους ἐπανήγαγε,  
ζηνώσκων ὅτι ἄλλη νόμος δι-  
καστα. ἄλλη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀ-  
ρετὴ καὶ τῶ νόμῳ ἐρεσκῆς ἐπα-  
δαυ, πῶς δὲ ἐπαγορεύει καὶ τῶ  
νόμῳ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἀμελικόν ἐκείνου  
ναί, ὅτι νόμος ἐμὴν χρο-  
νῶν, καὶ ἐκ ἐν γεγραμμένῳ ἀνωτα-  
τότοις καὶ ἀσυνάτοις διὰ τῆς  
τοῦ ὁσὶς οἰκῆ, βασιλεὺς ἐκ  
τῆς ἐρεσκῆς κατέστηκεν εἰς τὸ  
ζῶν ὁ Θεὸς ὅπως ἀν εἰν  
καταφυγῇ πρὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ  
τῆς νόμου τῆς ἀκινήτης ἐπὶ τῇ  
ἐμπνεύσει καὶ ζῶντα. Themist.  
orat. 5. de humanit. Theod.

\* his own will, saith Accursus,  
is accounted a great and just  
cause. As also for the recal-  
ling of the sentence of death  
it self, we meet with this pas-  
sage in Themistius, † We have  
seen men returned to life from  
the gates of death; whom the  
Law indeed sent thither, but  
the Lord of the Law brought  
back from thence again; as  
knowing that one thing becom-  
eth a Judge, another a King;  
that the one is tied to follow  
the Laws, but the other hath  
power to correct the Laws them-  
selves, and to qualifie the seve-  
rity and harshness of them, as  
being himself a living Law,  
and not confin'd to unchangeable

and unalterable letters. For to this end,  
it seemeth, God did send from heaven this  
Regal power into the earth, that men might  
have a refuge from that dead and unmove-  
able Law to this living one. Wherewith  
we may compare that briefer expression  
of Hilary the Roman Deacon, or who-  
ever else was the Author of the Que-  
stions upon the Old and New Testa-  
ment,

ment, wrongly fathered upon St. Augustin, \* To Judges it is prescribed not to revoke the sentence passed upon a guilty person: but the Emperour himself is under no such Law. For he alone hath power to revoke that Sentence, and to absolve the man condemned to die, and to grant a pardon to him. That saying indeed of the Emperour Valentinian III. is much commended, † It is a voice worthy of the Majesty of him that reigneth, that the Prince should profess himself to be bound by the Laws. But ‖ although it be a fair thing to say so, yet is it not to be maintained that the Emperour is subject to the Laws, when he is loosed from them, saith Æneas Silvius. For there is a certain other thing, to which the Emperour is more obnoxious than to the Law; and that is Equity: which is not always found written. For Equity is that which is just beyond the written Law: Now if the Law doth command

\* *Judicibus statutum est ne liceat in reum datam sententiam revocare. Nunquid & ipse Imperator sub hac erit lege? Nam ipsi soli licet revocare sententiam & reum mortis absolvere, & ipsi ignorare. Quæst. 115. ex vet. & nov. Testam. tom. 4. oper. Augustini.*

† *Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. l. 4. Cod. de legib. & constit. princ.*

‖ *Quod quamvis pulchrum est dicere non tamen asserendum est Imperatorem legibus esse subjectum, cum sit solutus. Est enim aliud quiddam cui plus quam legibus obnoxius est Imperator; hoc ipsum æquitas est, quæ non semper invenitur scripta. Æquitas enim est, quod præter legem scriptam justum est: Quod si aliud lex jubet, aliud æquitas suadet, convenit Imperatorem juris vigorem æquitatis frangere temperare, cui soli inter æquitatem jusque interpositam interpretationem licet & incumbit inspicere. Præsertim cum nulla juris sanctio, quantumcunque digesto perpensa consilio, ad varietates humane nature & machinationes ejus inopinabiles sufficiat. Cumque humani juris conditio sem-*

per in infinitum decurrat, nihilque sit in eo quod stare perpetuo possit (multas enim formas eadem natura novas deprobrat. & secundum tempora statuta variantur humana) manifestum est eui cursu, quæ leges olim justæ fuerunt, injustas reddi fierique nunc inutilis, nunc duras, nunc iniquas. Ad quas moderandas opus est Principe, qui legum Dominus est. Nam si quid in eis latum fortassis obscurius fuerit, Imperatorem convenit declarare, duritiemque legum suæ humanitati contrariam & incongruam emendare. Quod enim dicitur, legem quamvis duram esse servandam, inferiores iudices non Cæsarem respiciunt; in quo est vis illa moderandarum legum, quam *Emendatæ* vocant, quæ tam annexæ est summo Principi, ut nullis possit humanis evelli decretis. *Ancas Silvius de ortu & autoribus Imperii* cap. 10, 21.

one thing, and Equity persuade another, it is fit the Emperour should temper the rigour of the Law with the bridle of Equity, as he who alone may and ought to look unto that interpretation which lieth interposed between Law and Equity. Especially seeing no Decree of the Law, although weighed with never so considerate Counsel, can sufficiently answer the varieties and unthought-on Plottings of mans nature. And seeing the condition of humane Law is such, that it runneth always without stint, and there is nothing in it which can be at a perpetual stand; it is manifest, that in tract of time the Laws which before were just, prove afterwards to be unjust, and become now unprofitable, now harsh, now unrighteous: for the moderating whereof there is need of the Prince, who is Lord of the Laws. For if it fall out, that anything hath been more obscurely delivered therein, it is fit the Emperour should clear it, and amend that harshness of the Laws which he shall find to be contrary and disagreeable

greeable to his humanity. For where it is said, that a Law, although it be hard, should yet be observed; that respecteth the inferiour Judges, and not the Emperour; in whom is that power of moderating the Laws which they call *Emenda*, or Equity, which is so annexed to the Supremacy of the Prince, that by no Decrees of Man it can be pulled from it. Thus far *Æneas Silvius*.

In regard of themselves Kings are said to be exempted from subjection to the Laws, both because they are not tied (otherwise than for conveniency and good examples sake) to the observance of such as are meer positive and temporary Laws; and because they are not liable to the civil punishments set down for the breach of any Law, as having no Superiour upon earth that may exercise any such power over them: Whereunto, for the later Times, that of *Otto Frisingensis* may be referred,

\*Whereas there is no man found in the World which is not subject to the Laws of the World, and by that subjection kept within compass; Kings alone, as being set above the Laws, and reserved to Gods examination,

\* Cum nulla invenitur persona mundialis que mundi legibus non subiacet, subiacenda coercetur; soli reges, atque constituti supra leges, divina examini reservantur, secularibus legibus non cohibentur. *Otto Frising. præfat. chron. ad Imp. Frideric. I.*

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are not restrained by any secular Laws. And for the elder, that Speech of Gregory Bishop of Tours unto the French

\* Si quis de nobis, O Rex, justitia tramitem transcendere voluerit, à te corrigi potest; si verò tu excesseris, quis te corripiet? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis; si autem nolueris, quis te condemnabit nisi is qui se pronunciat esse justitiam? Greg. Turonens. hist. Franc. l. 5. c. 18.

King *Chilperick*, \* If any of us, O King, transgress Justice, you may correct us; but if you do exceed your bounds, who shall restrain you? We indeed speak unto you, and if you will you listen unto us; but if you do not, who can condemn you but he who hath declared himself to be Righteousness? (that is,

God himself alone.) Together with that common interpretation which hath been given unto those words of David in the 51 Psalm, *Against thee, thee onely have I sinned*: whereof *Euthymius* gi-

† Cum rex sim, & te solum commissorum à me scelerum judicem habeam, tibi soli peccasse videor, hoc est, tibi soli judici subjiçior: Ceterorum enim omnium ego dominus sum. Euthym. in Psalms.

|| Rex cum ego sim, tibi que soli subiectus, tibi soli peccavi. Alioquinariam injuria affectus, sed peccatum ipsum ad te transiit, quoniam leges tuas transgressus sum. Nicephor. in catena Græc. Doctor. in Psal. Lat. à Dan. Barb. edit.

veth this paraphrase, † Forasmuch as I am a King, and so have thee the onely Judge of the crimes committed by me, against thee onely I appear to have sinned, that is, I am subject to no other Judge but unto thee alone, for of all the rest I am myself the Lord. *Nicephorus* this, || In respect that I am a King, and subject to thee alone, against thee onely have I sinned.

Injury,



## 95

So likewise *Didymus*, \* *Inasmuch as he was a King he was not subject to any humane Law, and so sinned against none of those Law-makers. And Ambrose*, † *Being upheld with the Regal eminency, as a Lord of the Laws, in respect of the Laws he was not guilty; to God alone he stood obnoxious, who is the Lord of Principalities. And Tyrannus*, || *Because he was a King he had no superiour Judge which might punish him, but God. As Isidorus Pelsiota likewise writeth of another who was an Heathen, that \*being a King he was not to expect any judicial sentence from men; forasmuch as such were subject to Gods indgment only. And Cyril of Alexandria in the general, † Who dare violate the Decrees*

Ὅσον ἐπὶ τὸ εἶ) βασιλεύς  
 καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρ' ἀνθρώπων νό-  
 μῳ ὅθεν ἐλπί τ' νομοθετῆς  
 ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ πα-  
 ραυτὴ τὸ ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι.  
 Βασιλεὺς ὅμως τῶ βασιλεύς  
 καὶ θεοσεβὴς εἶναι βέλτερον  
 ὑπὸ χεῖρ' αὐτῶ τῶ Θεοῦ νόμῳ  
 εἶναι καὶ ἡμῶν μόνῳ Θεῷ καὶ  
 τὸ ποιεῖν ἐκείνῳ αὐτῶ ἐ-  
 πίτρεψαι. Didym. *ibid.* & in  
 Casena Graeca MS. in Bi-  
 blioth. Bodl. & Novi Col.  
 Oxon.

† Regali subnixus fastigio,  
quasi legum dominus legibus  
reus non erat: soli Deo obno-  
xia tenebatur, quod dominus  
est potestatum. Ambrosi. 2.  
epist. 7. ad Simplicianum.  
¶ Quia erat rex non habebat  
iudicem superiorem qui posset  
eum punire nisi Deum. Nicol.  
de Lyra in Psal. 50.

\* Βασιλῆς ὁν, ὃ ἐϑιμῶν  
παρ' ἀνθρώπων μετὰ πολλῶν  
ἁπλῆσιν, τῇ γ' ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
μὴν ὁ τοῦτο ἐκείνου.  
Isidor. Pelus. l. 5. c. 11. 283.  
ad Petrum Correctorem.

[illegible]

*of*

## The Power of the Prince.

of terrene Kings, or attempt to dissolve the Laws enacted by Princes, unless he himself be one of those who are invested with Regal dignity: for in such the charge of transgressing the Law hath no place at all. And by this we may easily understand what Aristotles meaning was when he

said, that \* a King tied to the Laws doth make no new kind of Government. For if the People may call him to account for the breach of the

Law, the State is plainly *Democratical*; if the Peers, it is *Aristocratical*; if either, or both of them, it cannot any way be accounted *Monarchical*. To all which we may add likewise that declara-

tion of *Thomas Aquinas*,  
† The Prince is said to be loosed from the Law, forasmuch as concerneth the coactive force of the Law. For no man is properly constrained by himself; and the Law hath no force coactive but from the Power of the Prince. Thus therefore the Prince said to be loosed from the Law, because no man can give sentence of condemnation against him, if he do any thing against

\* Ο ΧΤΙ νόμον ἀνθρώπων βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς τὸ πο-  
λιτείας. Aristot. Politic.  
l. 3. c. 12.

† Princeps dicitur esse solutus à legibus, quantum ad vim coactivam legis. Nullus enim proprie cogitur à seipso; lex autem non habet vim coactivam nisi ex Principis potestate. Sic igitur Princeps dicitur esse solutus à lege, quia nullus in ipsum potest judicium condemnationis ferre, si contra legem agat, &c. unde quantum ad Dei judicium, Princeps non est solutus à lege quantum ad vim directivam ipsius, sed debet voluntarius, non coactus, legem implere. Thom. 2. 2. quest. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

against the Law. But in respect of Gods judgment the Prince is not loosed from the Law forasmuch as concerneth the directive power thereof; but he ought voluntarily, and not constrainedly, to fulfil the Law. And of Joannes Sarisburiensis,

\* The Prince is said to be absolved from the obligation of the Law, not because unjust things may be lawful to him, but because he ought to be one, who, not for the fear of punishment, but for the love of Justice should regard equity, procure the profit of the Common wealth, and in all things prefer the benefit of others before his own will and pleasure. And so (as the Apostle speaketh in another case) † having not the Law, he is a Law to himself: || being not without Law to God, but under the Law to Christ.

The King therefore is not hereby made lawless, nor hath liberty given unto him to do whatever him listeth. For Gods word and right reason must

\* give a Law to the Law-givers themselves, as Gregory Nazianzen speaketh to

the

\* Princeps legis nexibus dicitur absolutus, non quia ei iniqua liceant, sed quia is esse debet qui non timore poenae, sed amore justitiae, aequitatem colat, rei publicae procurat utilitatem, & in omnibus aliorum commoda privatae preferat voluntati. Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 2. Sic & Soto de Just. & jur. l. 1. qu. 6. art. 7. conclus. 4. Covarruvias ad c. alma mater p. 1. sect. 1. n. 3. Navarr. ad c. Si quando. de rescript. except. 8. n. 12. Menoch. de arbit. Jud. qu. 7. n. 10. 20. Budæus in annot. ad l. Princeps. D. de leg.

† Rom. 2. 14.

|| I Cor. 9. 21.

\* Νόμος δὲ θεοῦ  
ἵνα δὲ ὑποτασσώ-  
μεθα τῷ λόγῳ  
Greg. Naz.  
orat. 27.

\* Δὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου  
ἐνυπάρχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλ-  
λὰ μέγαν οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ μὲν ἐνυ-  
πάρχοντος ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι ἐν  
μετάπτωσιν εἶναι τοῦ λόγου.  
Themist. orat. 9.

should be

† Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἰσχύει ἢ ἐν ἡγε-  
σίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως τι περὶ δέου, εἰ  
μὴ λογισμὸς οἰκείῳ ὅτι αὐ-  
τῷ τῷ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἡγεσίᾳ  
ἐστίν. Agapet. Paræc. c. 36.

|| Rex etsi leges in potestate  
habet, ut impune delinquat,  
Deo tamen subditus est, qui  
nulli debet; imo plus ipse de-  
bet, cui plus commissum est.  
Ambr. in Psal. 118. Ser. 16.

\* Horat. carm.  
l. 3. Od. 1. Vl-  
de & Sueton.  
in C. Jul. Cæ-  
sare. c. 16. ex  
Cæsare ipso, in  
Iuliz animæ  
laudatione funebri.

\* Regum timendorum in proprios greges;  
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.

Over Subjects Kings command,  
Kings are under Joves high hand.

And

the Emperours of his time.

\* Greatness of spirit indeed  
(saith Themistius to the Em-  
perour Theodosius) is requisite  
in a King; but it is fit also  
that this great spirit of his

obsequious and easily persuaded  
to yield to reason. † None be-

ing able (as Agapetus addeth  
in his admonitions to Justi-  
nian) to correct him who is in  
so high authority, but that very  
reason of his, which is moved  
by the conscience of himself of-  
fending. And || although the  
King hath the Laws so in his  
power, saith St. Ambrose, that  
without fear of punishment he

may offend, yet is he subject to God, who  
oweth nothing unto any; and to whom  
more by him is owen, unto whom more by  
him hath been committed.

And therefore \* Whatsoever they shall unjustly and wickedly, and in a tyrannical manner practise against the Law; to the overthrow of Right, therein (saith Irenæus) they shall perish by the just judgment which cometh equally upon all, and in none (or nothing) is deficient. Whereupon that famous Eremita Anthony, writing unto Constantine the Great, and his Sons Constantius and Constans, gravely advised them, † not to esteem their present estate to be great, but rather to remember the judgment which was to come: which also the Catholick Bishops afterward were not unmindful to put Constantius || in remembrance of, when he laboured so earnestly to propagate the Arrian Heresie. And the Prelates assembled in an Italian Synod, five hundred years after that, do ∴ humbly suggest the same unto Princes, which (in respect of their Calling) they profess they dare not to be silent in; that they should take

\* Quocunque ad everſionem juſti, inique & impie contra legem, & more tyrannico exciterint, in his & peribunt, juſto judicio Dei ad omnes æqualiter perveniens & in nullo deſiciente. Iren. adv. hæreſ. l. 5. c. 24.

† Μη μεγάλη ηγείσθαι τὴν παρὸντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κείσεως. Athanas. in vita Antonii.

|| Ἡπειλαίων τὴν νῦν ἡμεῶν κείσεως. Idem in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

∴ Cavendum summo opere Principibus, ut quia minime nunc judicantur, ne in futuro iudicio ab omnipotenti Deo gravius judicentur: secundum Apostolum, Etenim horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. Nos vero qui debitores sumus ut fideliter  
special

annunciamus, idcirco humiliter suggerimus, quod filere non audeamus. Synod. Regiaticin. anno 850. habit. c. 16. Wherewith that of Otto Frisingensis also may be compared, in his Preface before his History unto the Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, Cum enim, juxta Apostolum, omni mortali horrendum sit incidere in manus

Pei viventis regibus tamen, qui nullum præter ipsum supra se habent quem metuant, eo erit horribilius, quo ipsi cæteris possunt peccare liberius.

\* Heb. 10. 31.

special beed because they are not now judged, that in the judgement to come they be not more severely judged by Almighty God: According to that of the Apostile, \* It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

The same Apostle in his Epistle to the Colossians, speaking of the mutual duties of Servants and Masters, setteth this down as a general axiom, \* He that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons: and then presently subjoineth, † Masters, give unto your Servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven. And in his Epistle to the Ephesians, treating of the same Argument, when he had laid the like general ground for the recompence of well-doing, as he did in the other for doing of wrong, || Whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free: He addeth in like manner,

Te

\* Col. 3. 25.

† Col. 4. 1.

|| Ephes. 6. 8, 9.

*Ye Masters do the same thing unto your Servants, forbearing threatenings; knowing that your Master also is in Heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him. The reason is universal, you see; and so is applicable as well to the Prince in the Common-wealth, as to the Master in the private Family. Whereupon the Scripture telleth us in expresse terms, that God \* accepteth not the persons of \* Job 34.19. Princes; that † he leadeth Princes away † Job.12.19. spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty; that || he changeth the times and the seasons, he || Dan.2.21. removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings; that ∴ he cutteth off the spirit of Princes, ∴ Psal.76.12. and is terrible to the Kings of the Earth.*

Upon the consideration of which judgments of God, (oftentimes inflicted by him even in this World, but most infallibly in the World to come) King David groundeth this admonition of his unto those great ones, \* *Bewise now* \* Psal.2.10.11. *therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed ye Judges of the Earth, serve the Lord with fear.* Whereof if you will have a more large paraphrase, you may take this out of the sixth Chapter of the Book of Wisdom; *Hear therefore, O ye Kings, and understand; learn ye that be Judges of the ends of the Earth. Give ear you that rule*

M the

the People, and glory in the multitude of Nations. For power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest; who shall trie your works, and search out your counsels? Because being Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counsel of God. Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in high places. For mercy will soon pardon the meanest; but mighty men shall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all shall fear no mans person, neither shall he stand in awe of any mans greatness; for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike. But leaving God to his own work, (which he in his infinite wisdom knoweth best how to order) let us look to what concerns our selves, and consider that Subjection which God hath charged us to yield unto our Governours.

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PART.



## PART. II.

THE  
OBEDIENCE  
OF THE  
SUBJECT.

**O**BEDIENCE to Authority is  
by *Æschylus* rightly termed  
\* the Mother of Feli-

city; by *Philo* the Jew † The  
best and most profitable thing  
in our whole life. And there-  
fore || *Theopompus* King of the  
*Lacedemonians*, hearing one  
attribute the safety of *Spar-  
ta* to the skill which their  
Kings had in Government; made answer, that this was to  
be ascribed rather to the Obe-

\* Πειθαρχία γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ εὖ  
ἀκούειν τῶν ἀρχόντων. *Æschyl.* in  
Ἐκὼς ὅμι. *Θύκας*, vers. 203.

† Ἀρχὴ, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ  
βιωφιλῆστον. *Philo* in lib.  
de *Joseph.*

|| Οὐβίμπροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς,  
ὃς ἀναδιδουσίαν, ἀρετὴν καὶ  
ἐμπειρίαν οὐκ ἔχει. *Σπέρ-  
τιν.* διὰ τὸν βασιλῆα ἀγ-  
χῆται ὅσῳ. *Plutarch.* in  
Preceptis gerendæ Reip.

dience which the People so chearfully  
rendred unto their Governours. For

\* Ἐν ᾗ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κερ-  
νισοὶ καὶ ὑπέρτατοι μάλιστα  
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς  
εἶναι μεγαλυνονται, καὶ τοῖς  
ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶνται. σφόδρα  
ἀλλὰ μὴ βασιζομένους, ὑπα-  
κούον νομίζοντες, ὡς αὐ-  
τοὶ κατέρχονται ἐν σφόδρα  
πείθει. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦ ἀλ-  
λως. ὅτι καὶ γινώσκονται. Xe-  
nophon. de Lacedæm. Rep.

† Ἐπειδὴ ἔγνωσαν τὸ πείθε-  
σθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ  
ἐν πόλει, καὶ στρατῷ, καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ.  
Ibid.

|| Ἐννοήσατε γὰρ ὅτι, τίς ἂν  
πόλις πολέμῳ ὑπὸ μὴ πει-  
θεμένην ἀλίσῃ; τίς δ' ἂν  
φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθεμένην  
διαφυλαχθεῖ; πῶς δ' ἂν  
ὑποταγμένων στρατῷ νίκης  
πύρι; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν  
μάχῃς ἡτῶντο ἄνθρωποι, ἢ  
ὑποταγμένων ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἑκα-  
τέρῃ; καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέβη  
βελανδῆς; τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο  
ἀγαθὸν πελαγεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
μὴ πειθεμένου τῆς κρίσε-  
ως; πῶς δ' ἂν πόλις νομίμως  
αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαν; ἢ πῶς οἶκοι  
συνδοίονται; πῶς δ' ἂν νῆες  
ὑποταγμένων ἀφίσκονται; Ἡμεῖς  
δ' αὖ τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔχοντες δια-

in \* *Sparta*, above all other  
places, the most powerful Ci-  
tizens shewed themselves  
most obsequious unto the  
Magistrates, and by their  
example drew the rest to do  
the like: as † *knowing Obe-*  
*dience to be the greatest good,*  
*both in Cities, in Armies, and in*  
*private Families.* So writeth  
*Xenophon*, in his Book of the  
Common-wealth of the *La-*  
*cedæmonians*: which esse-  
where he amplifieth more  
largely in this Speech which  
he makes *Chrysantas* use to his  
Countrymen the *Persians*,  
|| Consider, I pray, what Town  
of their Enemies can they take  
who will not obey? What City  
of their Friends can they keep  
that are disobedient? What  
Army that is irregular and tu-  
multuous can obtain a Victory?  
What readier way can men  
make to receive an overthrow  
in Battail, than when everyone  
shall begin severally to consult  
of

of his own safety? What other good thing can be effected by those that do not obey their superiours? What Cities can be well governed? What houses can be preserved? How can Ships be brought to the Coast wherunto they are bound? By what means more have we ourselves acquired those good things which we now enjoy, than by obeying our Prince? For here-

ἢ ἄλλο μᾶλλον ἀποτρεῖ-  
ξαι μὴ ἢ διὰ τὸ σπειδάζειν τὸ  
ἀρχαίῃ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ  
τοιαῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς ταχὺ ἰδὲ  
ὅπως ἴδωμεν παραγενέμεθα, ἀ-  
δρόαι δὲ τὸ ἀρχαίῃ ἐπιμα-  
νοὶ ἀνυψώμεθα ἡμεῖς, καὶ δι'  
ἐκείνων ὁρίων ἔσθ' ἡμετέρας  
καταλείπομεν. Εἰ τίνων μέ-  
ριστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ σπειδάζειν  
φαίνεται εἰς τὸ πρὸς τὴν  
πολίτην παρὰ τὸ, ὅπως αὐ-  
τῇ ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ  
λαοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ μέγιστον ἀγα-  
θὸν ὄν. Xen. lib. 8. καὶ  
παιδείας.

by it came to pass, that by day and by night we did both speedily come unto the place appointed, and with our whole Forces following our Prince carried all before us; while we left none of those things half done, which were enjoined unto us. And therefore as it is apparent, that Obedience to our Governour is the greatest means to purchase good things; so assure your selves likewise, that the very same will prove the best means to preserve those things which are convenient for you.

For to Govern and to be Governed are of so near a relation the one unto the other, that from the composition of them together (as \*Crito the Pythago-

\* Εἰς πόλιν  
ἀσπασμῶν] ἡ ἀρχαία ποτὶ τὸν ἀρχαίῃ ἀποπλεῖ καὶ τὸν καὶ ὁμόνοιας Crito,  
apud Scobazum, Serm. 1.

rean well notheth). ariseth both the strength and the concord of the whole State: the like necessity being of both, and arising from the same Spring of the Law of Nature. To which purpose that part of Julius Cæsars Speech in Dio, is very pertinent, \* Two both

\* οὗτοι δ' ἀναγκαῖα πάντα εἰς σωτηρίαν, πρὸς μὲν, ἀρξαιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, πρὸς δ', ἀρχαίαι τέτακται καὶ ἀδωατόν ἐστιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπως καὶ ὅπου νῦν διαβυδαίω περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς μὲν ὁπότεντι πρὸς, ἐκφροντίζοντες τὰ νόμιμα καὶ ἐπιτάλματα πρὸς δ' ἀποτασσόμενοι, τιμωροῦντες ἀπειθείας, καὶ ἐκπορεύειν τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. Dio. Hist. Roman. lib. 41.

necessary and wholsom things bath Nature establisbed among men; to Rule, and to be Ruled: without which it is impossible that any thing for never so small a time should hold out. Wherefore it beboveth him that bath the Government of any, to find out such things, as are fitting, and to enjoin them: as also him that is subject to

the others Authority, to yield obedience to him without all excuses, and to use all diligence in the performing of the thing that is commanded.

And of the two, Whether the want of Government or the want of Obedience would prove more pernicious to a State, is a point that S. Chrysostom maketh very questionable:

† Κακὸν μὲν ἔν η ἀναρχία, καὶ ἀναρχίας ἀποδοσις. κακὸν δ' ἔχ' ἡπὼν καὶ ἡ ἀπειθεία τῶν ἀρχόντων. τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ

† An Anarchy is an evil thing indeed, saith he, and the ground of the subversion of a State.

But

But the disobedience of those that are under Government, is an evil no less than that: and bringeth the matter to the self same pass. For a People that doth not obey their Governour, is like unto a People that hath no Governour: and peradventure worse too. For there they have some excuse for their disorder; here they not onely have none, but are punishable: and that both from God and from Man, as the same Father, in another place, doth thus expresse the matter, Subjection to the Higher Powers is a thing which \* God hath ordained, and he is a sore punisher of those who make light thereof. No common penalty will he inflict on thee if thou be disobedient, but an exceeding great one: and nothing shall exempt thee in this thy contradiction, but both thy punishment from men will be heavy, and none shall stand up in defence of thee, and thou wilt provoke God in an higher manner. And Phocas after him, † Thou art a gainer by being a Subject; not onely because thou

ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχοντες τὸν λαόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν ὡς οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ. ὁμοίως γὰρ ὡς ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἀπειθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὕτως ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἀπειθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Homil. 24.

\* Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἐν ἐνομοσίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ ἐστὶν τιμωρὸς τῶν ἀπειθεῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπειθεὶς, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποδοκιμαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφοδρὰ μισῶνται καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκείνην αἰτίαν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑπομένει τιμωρίαν καὶ ἐν παντί, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς παροτρύνει μισῶναι. Id. in Epist. ad Roman. Homil. 23.

† Κερδαίνει καὶ ντὺ θείῃ ἐνομοσίᾳ, ὁ μόνον ὅτι ἐν τῷ λαῷ παρῇ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ

ful-

Θεὸς ὁ πῶς, πῶς δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτὸν τιτασθῆναι θέλει καὶ  
 τῶν τῶν καὶ ἐστὶν Μα-  
 κκεῖν ὁ ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὰ τα-  
 ῦτα καὶ πῶς καὶ ἐστὶν  
 σὺ μὲν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐστὶν  
 διὰ τὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐπιθυμῶν  
 καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν  
 αἰμα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐστὶν  
 ὅτι τῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τιτασθῆναι  
 καὶ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐστὶν  
 ἐστὶν καὶ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴν  
 καὶ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴν. Phot. in  
 cap. 13. ad Roman. apud  
 Occumenium.

fulfillest the command; but al-  
 so because thou dost honour  
 God likewise whilst thou ho-  
 nourest the Power ordained by  
 him, and him into whose hand  
 he hath committed it. Happy  
 is he that in this manner and  
 for these respects doth honour  
 the Power, and submit himself  
 unto it: as miserable on the  
 other side he is, who for these  
 regards will not be subject. For

he must undergo a double judgment: the  
 one from God, because he doth contemn  
 the Government ordained by him; the  
 other from the Magistrates that are de-  
 spised.

\* Jude, v. 8, 11.

S. Jude speaking of such as did \* de-  
 spise dominion, and speak evil of dignities,  
 says that they perished in the gainsaying of  
 Core. This Core (or Korah) was a Le-  
 vite; who by his Office was to have  
 taught Jacob Gods judgments, and Israel  
 his Law: but he being one of those

† Deut. 33. 10.

|| Malach. 2. 8.

|| Numb. 16.

1, 2, 3.

who || corrupted the covenant of Levi,  
 drew first three principal men of the  
 Tribe of Reuben, and then two hundred  
 and fifty Princes of the Assembly (famous  
 in the Congregation; men of renown) into  
 his confederacy; and having gathered

his

his Associates together against *Moses* and *Aaron*, stuck not to affront them thus unto their faces, *Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them: Wherefore then lift you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord?* as if they had \* taken this ho- \* Heb. 5. 4.  
nour to themselves, and had not been called of God unto it. But by these mens strange perishing in this gain saying of theirs, even Women did plainly see, that in opposing *Moses* and *Aaron* after this manner, they opposed God himself, the ordainer of their Authority. For so the daughters of *Zelophehad* could say, † Our Father died in the Wilderness, and † Numb. 27. 3.  
he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the LORD in the company of *Korah*. Nay the very words of the Spirit of God, concerning *Dathan* and *Abiram* are express to this purpose, || These were fa- || Numb. 25. 9,  
mous in the Congregation, who strove a- 10.  
gainst *Moses* and against *Aaron* in the company of *Korah*, when they strove against the Lord. And ∴ the Earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with *Korah* when that company  
∴. Psal. 106. 17, 18.  
Terra statim fauces suas in populi divisores aperuit, & contemptores mandatorum Dei a-  
died;



vido ore absorbit. Intra  
momenti spatium ad transglu-  
tiendos prædictos terra pa-  
ruit, rapuit, clausa est. Et  
nè beneficium de mortis com-  
pendio consequi viderentur, dum non essent digni vivere, in nec mori conces-  
sum est: tartareo carcere subito clausi, ante sunt sepulti quam mortui. Optat.  
lib. 1. contra Parmenian.

died; what time the fire de-  
voured two hundred and fifty  
men: and they became a sign.

\* Jude, v. 13.  
with 2 Pet. 2.  
10. 17.

A dreadful sign indeed unto all them  
which afterwards should follow their

steps: to whom S. Jude saith is, \* *re-  
served the blackness of darkness for ever.*

For what other end may they expect,  
that dare adventure upon the like tur-  
bulent and seditious courses? The *Le-  
vite* begins the Faction; he by his false  
persuasions draws the Nobles after him:  
his main motive being this, that the Ru-  
ler assumeth too much unto himself, and  
invadeth the Peoples Rights and Liber-  
ties; others that will not run with  
them in that strain, being censured for  
Temporizers, and such as have mens  
persons in admiration because of advan-  
tage. And without all doubt this is  
that *ῥεῖθρον ἑὐδαιμονίας* wherewith the Fa-  
ther of Lies laboureth to work discon-  
tentment in the minds of Subjects, and  
to steal away their hearts from the wil-  
ling performance of that duty which  
they owe unto their Governours; to  
put



put into their heads, that others give, and they take unto themselves, a kind of a transcendent Power and Authority fitted for their own ends, which God never intended his People should subject themselves unto. Whereas no soul may exempt it self from that express declaration of his, \* *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.* Upon which ground we may very well conclude here with Gamaliel, *If this Counsel, or this Ordinance, be of GOD, ye cannot overthrow it; † lest haply ye be found even to fight † Μήποτε ε; δομάχοι ενε; εντε. Act. 5. 39.* against God; like those Giants, whom the Poets feign to have assaulted Hea-

ven; from whose stock || Plato is pleased to derive their Pedegree who shew themselves adverse unto the Magistrates. For, *it is the pleasure of God, saith Chrysostom, that the Magistrate, whom he hath stamped with his own Image, should have also his own Power.* And \* *he that obeyeth not him, maketh War in a sort with God who hath appointed these things.* Let

|| *Noster vero Plato Titulum e genere statuit eos, qui, ut illi celestibus, sic hi adversentur Magistratibus. Cicero lib. 3. de Legib.*

.. \*Ο Θεός ε; πω βύλασαι ίνα ο; αρετων ο; παρ' αυτου πωτω-  
δεις, & ο; ο; ο; ιχω ε; χη.  
Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Serm. 23. (Rom. 3. Edit. Savil. p. 192.)

\*Ο μ; στραχων εναντιον, η; θω; πολαιμ; η; ποτα πομ; ε; τ; ουμ. Id. ib. p. 190.

\* MS

\* Μὴ πίνω \* *us not therefore invert this order, nor  
 τῷ Θεῷ ἀνὰρ- fight with God; demonstrating by our  
 πυνδρ, μηδὲ deeds that saying of the Apostle, Whosoever  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ πάλ- resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance  
 μωδρ, τὸ ἀπο- of God.  
 σταλκὸν ἐκείνο*

διὰ τοῦ ἔργου  
 ἐκείνου.

Ἦν πᾶς ὁ ἀντιπαύμενος τῇ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ τῷ Θεῷ διακονῇ ἀνδίκων. Id.  
 in Serm. 1. de David & Saul, tom. 3. p. 16.

Gregory Nazianzen telleth the Go-  
 vernour of his Province that

† Χεὶρ σπαρχει, Χεὶρ  
 αὐτοκρατορίας παρ' ἐκείνου σὺν  
 τῷ Χριστῷ, &c. εἰκὼν ἡ τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ. Greg. Nazianz. Orat.  
 17. ad cives timore per-  
 culsos.

† together with Christ he did  
 rule the People and admini-  
 ster the Office committed to  
 his charge: that from him he  
 had received the Sword; and

in that respect was to be accounted as  
 the image of God. Which if it have  
 place in a subordinate Magistrate, how  
 much more in the Prince? from whom,  
 under God, the Magistrate derives the  
 Power which he hath. For so St. Au-  
 gustine layeth it down in the case of

|| Non sic potuit contemnere  
 Casarem auctorem potestatis  
 suæ, quemadmodum legem gen-  
 tis alienæ. Aug. in Evang.  
 Johan. tract. 116.

∴ Talem quippe Pilato Deus  
 dederat potestatem, ut etiam  
 esset sub Casaris potestate. Ib.

Pilate, that || Caesar was the  
 Author of his Power; ∴ God  
 indeed having given him a  
 Power; but yet such a one as  
 should be under the Power of  
 Caesar. And therefore Epi-  
 phanius, when he had declar-  
 ed, that in every Kingdom  
 there

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there are many Magistrates, but under one King; and proved out of the 13. to the Romans, that all those Powers were ordained by God; he thus then buildeth upon that foundation, \* You see that this worldly Power is constituted by God, and from none but him hath received the Sword for punishment. And we may not say because there are Principalities and Powers in the World, that there is no King over them: but that there are indeed such Principalities and Powers in the World, and yet they have a King above them. And upon this he infers, that these Powers are not opposite to the King, but subordinate unto him, for the administration of the whole Kingdom, and the well ordering of the Land: there being no greater disorder that can be brought into a Common-wealth, than the making of these Subordinates to be Transcendents, by giving them allowance to make head against their Head, upon any pretext whatsoever.

Where the Word of God therefore † Tit. 3. 1. with  
would have us † put in mind, ἀρχαί & † Rom. 13. 1, 5.  
ἐξουσίαι and 1 Pet. 2. 13

\* Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτῇ ἡ κοσμικὴ ἐκ Θεοῦ τίται, καὶ μεταίεσι ἡ λαοὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ (ὡς ἀλλὰ ὁ Θεὸς δὲ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ) εἰς ἐκδίκησιν· καὶ ἡ δυνάμεις λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρχαί καὶ ἐξουσίαι ἐν κόσμῳ. † βασιλεῖα τέτων μὲν εἶναι βασιλεῖα· ἀλλὰ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχαί καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίαι ἐν κόσμῳ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλεία· ὡς ἐν ὅτῳ γῆς ὁρῶμεν. Νόμῳ δὲ ἐκ ἐναντίας τὰς ἀρχαί τῶ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσονται εἰς διακονίαν παντὸς τοῦ βασιλεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἐνταύτην γῆς. Epiph. contra Archontic. hzref. 40.

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ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσας, *to be subject to Principalities and Powers*; this ὑποταγή implieth in it a subordination and orderly subjection to every one in his own proper rank and several degree. Thus the *Centurion* acknowledgeth in the Gospel, \* that he was a man set under authority; yet so as he had also *Souldiers under him*, who were as obedient to his commands, as he was to the injunctions of his Superiours. I say unto one, Go; and he goeth; and to another Come and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doth it. For (as *Otho* speaketh

\* Luke 7. 8.

† Ita se Ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplina habet, ut multa per Centuriones Tribunosque tantum juberi expediat. Si ubi jubeantur, querere singulis liceat; pereunte obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit. Tacit. Histor. lib. 1.

in *Tacitus*) † the Authority of Generals and rigour of military discipline is of that nature, that many things must be simply enjoined by the *Centurions* and *Colonels*: If, when commands are given out, it be al-

lowed to dispute and question the matter, Obedience failing, Government will fall to ground also. Neither in the Camp alone, but in the Civil State likewise, this kind of subordination must necessarily be observed: this universal principle also being here fit to be taken into consideration; || That by which every

|| Ἀεὶ ὃ δὲ ὑπάκουον ἐνείνο, ἐνείνο μᾶλλον ὑπάκουον ὃν, ὃ δὲ φιλοῦν, ἐνείνο μᾶλλον φίλον.

Arist. Analytic. Poster. l. 1. c. 2.

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thing is such, must it self much more be such. Which is thus appliable to our particular; If we yield honour and obedience to our Magistrates, for that authority which we see the Prince hath been pleased to impart unto them; it standeth with all reason that before and above all them the Prince himself should be much more honoured and obeyed. And if we are to submit our selves to the subaltern and supreme Governor *διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου*, for the Lord (as we have heard out of \* S. Peter) it will follow necessarily that the Lords own commands must in the first place be observed by us, whatsoever any Magistrate or King shall say to the contrary. Whereupon Gregory Nazianzen giveth this admonition to Courtiers and such as were in high places of authority, † *Continue faithful to your Kings: but first of all to God; and for him to them also, unto whom you have been concredited and committed by him.*

1 Pet. 2. 13.

† Πιστὸς μὲν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι  
Θεῷ δ' ὅντι καὶ  
αὐτοῖς, οἷς ἐπι-  
τέταται καὶ οἷς  
ἐκδοθέντες εἰσιν.

Gregor. Na-

zianz. Orat. 27. quæ 12. est in Latina Jo. Lewenklavil edit. ubi Gregorii interpres, Elias Cretensis Episc. Nam propter Deum etiam illis ipsis fidei eritis quibus commissi à Deo, & ab eodem traditi estis. At qui propter Deum? quia si Deum metuetis & studiosè dabitis operam ut ejus mandata servetis, fideles his etiam Dei causa eritis.

For any man to \*take upon him the \* L. 4. C. de  
admi- crim. sacril.

administration of a publick Office without the Grant of the Prince; or yet to  
 † L. 5. C. de † cross the authority, or || call in que-  
 divers. rescrip. stion the worthiness of that Officer  
 || L. 3. C. de which he is pleased to make choice of;  
 crim. sacrileg. is by the Imperial Law accounted a

\* Εἰ γὰρ πῶς ἀρχιερεῖς τούτοις  
 πῶς ὑπο βασιλικῆς χει-  
 ρεστωμένους; καὶ πονη-  
 ροὶ, καὶ κλέπται, καὶ  
 ληστές, καὶ ἀδικοὶ, καὶ ὁ-  
 πῶν ὅσων ἔτινον, δεδούκα-  
 μέν τε πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν  
 ποιηρίαν καὶ ἀρετῆν αὐ-  
 τοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν  
 αὐτοῦ χειροτονήσας. ὁ δὲ  
 πῶς πολλοὶ μᾶλλον  
 διὰ τοῦ διὰ χεῖρ τοῦ ποιῆν.  
 Chrys. Ser. 1 de Dav. & Saul

kind of Sacrilege. Now \* if  
 we reverence and fear those  
 Magistrates that are elected by  
 the King, saith S. Chrysostom,  
 although they be wicked, al-  
 though they be Theives, although  
 they be Robbers, although they  
 be unjust, or whatever they be;  
 not despising them for their  
 wickedness, but standing in awe  
 of them for the dignity of him

that did elect them: much more ought  
 we thus to do in the case of God; and of  
 the King chosen by him, how unwor-  
 thily otherwise he may hap to prove.  
 Neither may we omit here that grada-  
 tion which St. Augustine maketh, for the  
 illustration of that subordinate power  
 whereof we have spoken:

† Si aliquid iusserit Curator,  
 nonne faciendum est? Tamēn  
 si contra Proconsul iubeat,  
 non utique contemnis potestatem,  
 sed eligis majori servire.  
 Nec hinc debet minor trahi  
 si major prelata est. Rursum,

† If thy Curator command thee  
 anything, must it not be done?  
 (yes questionless) and yet if  
 the Proconsul countermand  
 (and thou obey him) thou de-  
 spisest

Spisest not the Power of thy Censor, but servest a greater. Neither ought the lesser to be angry if the greater be preferred before it. Again, if the Praefect himself does command one thing, and the Emperour does command another; is there any doubt but that, condemning the one, we are to serve the other? Then if the Emperour does command one thing, and God another; what do you judge should be done? Namely that which in another place he himself resolveth, \* As in the Powers of humane society the greater in point of obedience is preferred before the lesser, so must God be before all. Agreeable to the answer which Socrates made to the Athenians, † I will obey God rather than you: and Peter and John to the Rulers of the People and Elders of Israel, ‡ Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: And all the Apostles afterward, jointly and peremptorily, ∴ We ought to obey ∴ A. 3. 29. God rather than men: concerning which

si aliquid iste Praefectus jubet, & aliud jubet Imperator, nunquid dubitatur illi contempto, illi esse servandum? Ergo si aliud Imperator, & aliud Deus; quid judicabit? August. de verbis Dom. Serm. 6.

\* Sicut in potestatibus societatis humanae major potestas minori ad obediendum praepositur, ita Deus omnibus. Id. lib. 3. Confession. cap. 8.

† Πείθεμαι τοῦ Θεοῦ μάλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων. Plato in Apol. Socratis.

N thus

\* *Valde perversum est profiteri se obedientem, in quo nobis superioris propter inferioris, id est Divinam propter humanam, solvere obedientiam. Quid enim? Quod jubet homo, prohibet Deus: & ego audiam hominem. Surdus Deo? Non sic Apostoli: clamabant quippe dicentes, Melius est obedire Deo quam hominibus. Bernard. Ep. 7.*

thus Bernard, \* *It is a very perverse thing to profess thy self to be obedient in that wherein thou art known to dissolve a superiour for an inferiour, that is, a divine for a humane obedience. For what? The thing that man commandeth, God forbiddeth: and shall I hear man and turn the deaf ear to*

*God? So did not the Apostles: for they cried out, saying, It is better to obey God than men.*

Upon the same grounds also, if any man shall think that he hath received hard measure from the inferiour Magistrate, he may, without breach of obedience, appeal unto the Superiour: and if the Superiour right him not, he may seek relief from the Supreme. As we see in the case of S. Paul, who from the Provincial Governour † *was constrained to appeal unto Caesar, and || to be referred to his hearing.* But if it so fall out, that he who is our highest Judge upon earth will be so far from doing justice, that he himself shall do us open wrong; Reason it self tells us that there may not be a *processus ad infinitum*: and there-

† Act. 28 19.

|| Act. 25, 21.



therefore if our humble supplications cannot prevail with him to change his mind, there is nothing left,

but that we \* commit our selves and our causes to God

that judgeth righteously. So *Athanasius* in his *Apology* to the Emperour *Constantius*,

† If I had been accused before others, saith he, I would

have appealed unto your Majesty; as the Apostle appealed

unto *Cesar*, and his enemies Plots against him ceased. But

seeing they have taken the boldness to calumniate me before

thee, to whom shall I appeal from thee? but to the Father of him

who said, I am the truth: that he may incline thine heart unto gentleness. And

*Aeneas Silvius*, || Although it be lawful to inform the Prince

by way of supplication, and humbly to petition for the restitu-

tion of our right; yet we may not clamour, nor disgrace or

oppose him, if he persist: forasmuch as there is no man that

may take cognizance of his temporal acts. That which the

\* 1 Per. 2. 23. with Psal. 37. 5, 6.

† Εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ ἄλλοις ἦν κατηγορούμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέα ἐπικαλέσασθαι ὡς ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐπικαλέσεται τὸν τὸν καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ σοὶ τεταμένῃσι κατέστην, πρὸς σὲ ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ πατέρα τοῦ λέγοντος, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἵνα σὺ πρὸς καρδίαν εἰς ἐμὴν χάριν. *Arnaul. Apolog.*

|| Quamvis liceat eum per viam supplicationis informare, humiliterque petere restitutionem, non tamen reclamare licet, vituperare, vel impugnare. si perseveret: cum nemo sit qui de suis factis temporalibus possit cognoscere. Tolerandum est patienter quod Princeps facit, quamvis iniquè, expellendaque est successorum emendatio, vel superni correctio Judicis, qui

Prince

N 2

*violentias atque injurias non  
fuit esse perpetuas. Ea.  
Silv. lib. de ortu & autho-  
rit. Imperli, cap. 16. Vide  
etiam ibid. cap. 21, & 23.  
de appellationibus ab Im-  
peratoris sententia non  
admittendis.*

*Prince doth, although unjustly,  
we are patiently to tolerate;  
and either to expect amends  
from his Successor, or else the  
correction of the heavenly  
Judge, who doth not suffer  
violences and injuries to be*

*perpetual. Such an appeal as this did  
David use in his parly with Saul when  
he so eagerly sought after his life with-  
out a cause, and God had delivered him  
into his hand, that he might have done  
to him what he pleased: \*The Lord  
judge between me and thee, and the Lord  
avenge me of thee: but mine hand shall  
not be upon thee. (As saith the Proverb  
of the Ancients, Wickedness proceedeth  
from the Wicked; but mine hand shall not  
be upon thee.) After whom is the King  
of Israel come out? after whom dost thou  
pursue? after a dead Dog, after a Flea.  
The Lord therefore be judge, and judge be-  
tween me and thee; and see, and plead my  
cause, and deliver me out of thine hand.  
And when he had fallen into his danger  
the second time, †The Lord render to  
every man his righteousness and his faith-  
fulness: for the Lord delivered thee into  
my hand to day, but I would not stretch  
forth mine hand against the Lords Anoin-  
ted.*

\* 1 Sam. 24,  
12, 13, &c.

† 1 Sam. 26.  
23, 24.

ted. And behold as thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all tribulation. Hereupon the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament (in the fourth Tome of S. Augustin's Works)

demandeth, \* for what reason David did call Saul The Lords Anointed, and did honour unto him after that God had departed from him? and maketh answer, that David being not ignorant that there was a Divine Ordinance in the Office of a State Regal, did therefore honour Saul, who as yet had the priviledge of that

Ordinance; lest he might seem to offer injury unto God, who had decreed honour to be given to those of this rank. Optatus brings David in, thus speaking, while he had his enemy at so great an advantage, \* Victory, thou provokest me without cause: in vain, Occasion, thou invitest me to triumph. 'Tis true I had a desire indeed to overcome my enemy:

\* Quæ ratione David Saul, postquam Deus ab eo recessit, Christum Domini vocat, & honorem deferit ei? Non nescius David Divinam esse traditionem in officio ordinis Regalis, idcirco Saul in eadem adhuc traditione positum honorificat; ne Deo injuriam facere videretur, qui his ordinibus honorem decrevit. Quæst. 35. ex Vet. & Nov. Test.

† Sine causa me, victoria, provocas: frustra me, occasio, in triumphos invitas. Volebam hostem vincere: sed prius est Divina præcepta servare. Non, inquit, mittam manus in vallum Domini.

Repressit cum gladio manum: & dum timuit olum, servavit inimicum. Optat, lib.2. contra Parmenian.

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but chiefly I must look to the keeping of Gods commandments. I will not stretch forth mine hand against the Lords Anointed. Upon this he drew back his hand and sword (saith Optatus) and whilest he revered his anointing, spared his enemy: Such another Speech does Basil

of Seleucia attribute unto him, \* God hath delivered up mine enemy unto me: but I will not stain the gift with slaughter, I will not pollute the favour with blood. Let him seek after me again, let him persecute me. It is better to suffer than to kill. And if he again persecute me, we have resolved to flie: although he persecute me, God cannot be persecuted. And Chrysostom, † He is wicked, you will say; exceeding wicked, full of innumerable vices, and bent against us with all extremity. True; but he is a King, a Prince, one to whose hands the Government of us is committed. Nor yet doth he say, King; but what? that he is The Lords Anointed: thereby making him venerable,

not

\* Παρέδωκε τὸ ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλ' ἐχ' ὑβρίζω τὸ δῶρον τοῦ φθόνου, ὃ μολύνει τὴν χάριν τοῖς αἵμασι. Ἰησέτω πάλιν καὶ διακίτω· τὸ φονεῖν τὸ ὑποκρίναι λωπτελέστερον. καὶ πάλιν διώκει. τὸ φθόνον μεμνημένης μου· καὶ ἵνα διώκῃ, Θεὸς ἐκ ὀπίσθεν διώκει. Basil. Sel. Orat. 10. five in David. Serm. 4.

† Τί λέγεις; ὅτι μακρὸς καὶ παμμεγας καὶ μυρίων γένων ἡγεμὼν, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡγεμὼς διαδούς; ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ ἄρχων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρῶτον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνεργεῖς; καὶ ἐκείνῃ βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ τί; ὅτι Χριστὸς Κυεῖν ὅτιν ἐκ ὑποφύων γεννᾷται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγνόντων ψόφου ποιήσας αἰδέσσιμον. Καταργεῖς τὸ σκωδῆσαι, φησὶν; αἰδέσθῃς τὸ δαυδίσαι; διαπύεις τὸ καχερστουμένον; φοβήσῃς τὸ χρεοστονήσασθαι. Chryl. Serm. 1. de David & Saul.

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not from the honour he had here below, but from the approbation which he had from above: as if he should have said, Dost thou despise thy fellow-servant? yet reverence thy Lord. Dost thou make light of him who is chosen? yet fear him by whom he was chosen.

To this Election of his, the Gibeonites also had respect, even when they sought for a revenge of that bloody act which he had committed against their house:

\* *The man that consumed us, and that devised against us that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of* \* 2 Sam. 21.  
3, 6.

Israel; let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom  
**THE LORD DID CHOOSE.**

Wherewith we may compare that part of the Sacred History wherein the first publick inauguration of Saul is thus laid down; † *And Samuel said to all the* † 2 Sam. 10.  
24, 25, &c.

*People, See ye him whom THE LORD HATH CHOSEN, that there is none like him among all the People? And all the People shouted, and said, GOD SAVE THE KING. Then Samuel told the People the manner of the Kingdom, and wrote it in a Book, and laid it up before the Lord: and Samuel sent*

N 4 all

all the People away every man to his house. And Saul also went home to Gibeah: and there went with him a band of men, whose hearts God had touched. But the children of BELIAE said, How shall this man save us? and they despised him. Wherein it is a thing very considerable, that Samuel was not more careful to see the rights of the Crown entered into a Book and laid up before the Lord, than the Lord himself was provident, to record the different affections of these men toward their King in his own Book; \*that it might be for the latter day (or, the time to come) for ever and ever.

\* Isa. 30. 8.

Some despised him in their hearts, and disgraced him in their words, saying, How shall this man save us? which is interpreted, as if they had spoken in plain terms, † Shall Saul reign over us? and these are censured by the Holy Ghost to be children of Belial, that is, men without yoke, or naughty persons. For

† 1 Sam. 11. 12

¶ Pessimus quisque asperissime  
restorem patitur. Sallust.  
Orat. 1. de Republ. ordi-  
nanda, ad C. Cæsarem.

|| the worst of men, as one well noeth, do of all others, with most repugnancy admit a Governour. Which induced the Roman Judges in the case of him who was found to have neglected

glected the respect due to *Sevilinus Isan-*  
*ricus*, easily to \* believe that  
he who knew not to reverence  
the prime men of State, would  
run without scruple into any  
disorder whatsoever. Where-

\* *Eum qui venerari princi-*  
*pes nesciat, in quolibet faci-*  
*nus procuratorem crediderunt.*  
Val. Max. l. 8. c. 5.

of that excess of filthiness and riot,  
wherewith † St. Peter and || St. Jude do † 2 Pet. 2. 19.  
charge those presumptuous persons who || Jude, v. 6.  
despised dominion, and spake evil of digni-  
ties, may serve for a sufficient demon-  
stration.

Thus Sheba the son of Bichri, who  
first attempted the drawing of the Ci-  
ties of Israel to revolt from David their  
King, is by Gods Spirit branded in the  
forehead with this note of being \* a \* 2 Sam. 20. 1.  
man of Belial: and they who afterwards  
gathered themselves unto Jeroboam the  
son of Nebat, and (with a success an-  
swerable unto their designs) strengthened  
themselves against Rehoboam (Davids  
Grandchild) when he was young and ten-  
der-hearted, and could not withstand them,  
are stiled by King Abiah, † vain men, the † 2 Chr. 13. 7.  
children of Belial; which in effect is as  
much as if it had been said, that they  
were of their || Father the Devil; if || Josh. 8. 44.  
St. Pauls application of the word may  
be admitted, in that question of his,

\* What

- \* 1 Cor. 6. 15. \* *What concord hath Christ with Belial?*  
 And surely if they who honoured their  
 † 1 Sam. 10. 26. King, had their † *hearts touched by God,*  
 (as we have heard) such as bend their  
 endeavours another way, should do  
 well to lay their hand upon their heart,  
 and consider with fear and trembling,  
 whether they find not there some touch  
 || Ephes. 2. 2. of || *the spirit that worketh in the children*  
*of disobedience.*

But to return to *Saul*: The onely  
 motive we see, that restrained *David*  
 from stretching his hand against him,  
 was this consideration, that he was  
 \* 1 Sam. 24. 6, † *the anointed of the Lord.* Which left  
 10. & 26. 11, any should think to have proceeded,  
 23. not so much out of the staidness of his  
 judgment, as out of the facility of his  
 disposition, he peremptorily doth thus  
 lay down the resolution of the point  
 † 1 Sam. 26. 9. in the general, † *Who can stretch forth*  
*his hand against the Lords Anointed,*  
*and be guiltless?* And maketh this the  
 ground of that sentence of death which  
 he pronounced after upon the *Amale-*

*kite*, who took the killing of  
*Saul* upon himself, || *How wast*  
*thou not afraid to stretch forth*  
*thine hand, to destroy the Lords*  
*Anointed?* *Thy blood be upon*  
*thy*

|| 2 Sam. 1. 14, 16.

*Et cum compleret observan-*  
*tiam, vindicavit occisum.*  
*Optat. l. 2. contra Parmen.*



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*thy head: for thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I have slain the Lords Anointed.*

And this indeed must be made the main foundation, not onely of the observance, but also of all the other branches of that allegiance which we do owe unto our Prince: that with the right which he hath obtained by Election or Succession here below, we be careful to conjoin that unction and ordination which he hath received from above. Both which, in this present case of *Saul*, are by *Samuel* thus linked together, \* *Behold the King whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have desired: And behold the Lord hath set a King over you.* So † *GOD chose Solomon, and all the Congregation made him King, and anointed him to the Lord to be the chief Governour: whereupon ensued that obedience both of the Commons and the great ones, which in the Scripture is thus expressed, || Then Solomon sate on the Throne of the LORD as King in stead of David his Father and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him: and all the Princes and the mighty men, and all the Sons likewise of King David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the King; or,*

as

\* 1 Sam. 12.

13.

† 1 Chron. 29.  
1, 20, 22.

|| 1 Chron. 29.  
23, 24.

as the Hebrew hath it, *gave the hand under him*. For the Kingdom being Gods own, and \* *by him given to whomsoever he will*; it will follow, that unto our † *Prince, who beareth the place of God, we are to be subject as unto God himself*: as by the Author of the Commentaries upon St. Pauls Epistles, attributed to St. Ambrose, is well observed.

\* Dan. 4. 17. 25. 32. *† Principi suo, qui vicem Dei agit: sicut dicit Daniel propheta, Dei est enim, inquit, regnum; & cui vult dabit illud. Unde & Dominus, Reddite, ait, que sunt Cesaris, Cesaris. Huic ergo subijciendi sunt, sicut Deo. Ambros. in Rom. 13.*

Neither is it for nothing, that we find in the Scripture God and the King so neerly joined together: once indeed † 1 Pet. 2. 17. in two several sentences, † *Fear God, Honour the King*; but more ordinarily in the self-same period; with one verb relating to them both. So for that former point of *Fear*; we are elsewhere required, to || *fear the Lord and the King*: and for the other of *Honour*; we read, that all the Congregation \* *worshipped the Lord, and the King*. As for the contrary likewise, in the Prophecy of Isaiah, † *They shall curse their King and their God*: and in the false accusation contrived against

\* Prov. 24. 21. where the Lxx read, *Fear*, (or as it is cited in the Epistle of Ignatius and Smyrnenf. and by Theophilus Antiochus lib. 1. ad Autolyc. Honour) God and the King, and to neither of them be thou disobedient.

\* 1 Chron. 29. 20.

† Isa. 8. 21.

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against Naboth, \* *Thou didst blaspheme God and the King* : as if the honour or dishonour of the one were folded up and involved with the respect or disrespect of the other. Whereunto it were not much amiss, this also should be added; that the person of the King hath heretofore been accounted so *sacred*, that the Crimes committed against him are in the Civil Law paralleled with that which striketh at God himself immediately, I mean *Sacrilege*. So in the places before quoted out of *Justinian's Code*, A man may not assume an Office, not granted unto him by the Prince, *sine Sacrilegii crimine* : and to oppose the Officers placed by him, *Sacrilegii instar est*. By the same Law, † *He that resisteth the Princes Rescript, is to be punished as a Sacrilegious person* : and || *Treason is accounted a crime next unto Sacrilege* (that is, the immediate violation of Gods own Majesty :) as by the *Greeks* it is esteemed not a whit worse, who use no other term for the expression of Treason against the Prince, but \* *ἀνίσηαι impiety*, and

\* 1 King. 21.  
10113.

† Ο δία Νότου ἐκείνου  
δὲς βασιλικὴ ἀντιγραφὴ,  
ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ πρῶτον,  
Eclog. Basilic. 2. tit. 5. c.  
23, 24.

|| Proximum Sacrilegio cri-  
men est, quod Majestatis de-  
citur. l. 1. D. ad leg. Jul.  
Majest.

\* Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 59.  
de C. Caligula, τὸ δ' ἀνί-  
σηαι ἰσχυρότατα πρῶτον.  
& post, τὸ δ' ἀνίσηαι ἰσ-

† ἡ ἀντιγραφὴ

κλήματα ἐπικρατούν, οἷς  
τάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχεσθῆναι ἱ-  
κέλευσεν. & lib. 60. de Clau-  
dio, τὸ ἐγκλημα τ' ἀσέβειας  
ἔκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μύ-  
νοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμι-  
ξιοῖν ἵπασθαι.

† Philoxen. Glossar. ab H.  
Stephano edit. *Majestatis*  
*crimen καδοσιώσεως ἐγκλη-  
μα.* Glossar. Juris à Car.  
Labbæo edit. τὸ πρὸ κα-  
δοσιώσεως, τὸ πρὸ καδοσιώσεως  
καὶ ὁπικυλῆς βασιλείας. Ec-  
log. Basilic. lib. 60. tit. 36.  
c. 12. Σέβηνωνται τὰ ἐγ-  
κλήματα τῇ τιμῇ τῇ  
καδοσιώσεως, καὶ οἱ τὸ πρὸ  
καδοσιώσεως, καὶ οἱ τὸ πρὸ καδο-  
σιώσεως καὶ τὸ πρὸ βασιλείας ὁπικυλῆς. Vide ejusd. citat. cap. 17,  
& 27. & tit. 50. ejusd. libr. cap. 9. item Socrat. l. 5. Hist. Eccl. c. 14. de  
Symmacho & Suid. in *Καδοσιώσεως*. || Ἀνιδόσιος καὶ ὁπικυλῆς τῷ  
Θεῷ βασιλείων. Eustath. in Iliad. 3. (p. 647. ed. Rom.) \* *Quid*  
*maius, quid sanctius Imperiali est Majestate? vel quis tanta superbia fasti-*  
*dio (an fastigio potius?) tumidus est, ut regalem sensum contemnat?* l. 12.  
Cod. de leg. & constitut. Princip.

† καδοσιώσεως, which *Ensta-*  
*thius* expounds || *an opposing*  
*ones self against Kings who are*  
*consecrated unto God; ὅτι*  
*ὁ καὶ ὁπικυλῆς, ἡτοι καὶ βα-*  
*σιλείας, because it is committed*  
*against a sacred person, that is,*  
*against the King, saith Suidas.*  
And \* *what is greater (saith*  
*Justinian) what more sacred*  
*than Imperial Majesty? or*  
*who is puffed up with such a*  
*height of pride that he should*  
*contemn the Kings sentence?*

From hence also it is, that others  
have held it \* *unfit for any so*  
*much as to pass their judgments*  
*upon Princes and their af-*  
*fairs. In the very entrance*  
*(saith Nazianzen) that vene-*  
*ration which accompanies their*  
*Majesty, presents it self, and*  
*repels busie Inquirers: and if*  
*any*

\* *Existimare quidem de*  
*Principibus nemini fas est.*  
*Nam & in vestibulo suo in-*  
*quirentem repellit objecta ve-*  
*neratio; & si qui propius*  
*adierunt, quod oculis in so-*  
*lem se contendentibus evenit,*  
*præstricta acie, videndi fa-*  
*cultate caruerunt. Nazar,*  
*Pancg. di& Const. Imp.*

any have drawn nearer, the same hath befallen them which hath done those who earnestly bend their eyes towards the Sun; their sight is dazzled, and they lose the faculty of seeing. To this purpose M. Tiberius in his Speech to the Emperour

Tiberius, touching the advancement of *Sejanus*, \*To us it belongs not to examine whom you advance above others, or upon what considerations. The sole and supreme disposal of things God hath given you: to us left nothing but the honour of our obedience. Which honour or glory of obedience, seeing, it appeareth †most in that which a man hath least mind to do, (as *Pliny* observeth in his Panegyrick unto *Trajan*) the ready way to attain thereunto, is to frame our wills to the chearful performance of that duty which we owe unto our Governours: according to that of *Seneca*, || He who doth that willingly which he is commanded, escapes the most irksome thing that is in Service; which is to do that which he would

\* Non est nostrum aestimare, quem supra ceteros, & quibus de causis extollas. Tibi summum rerum iudicium Dii dedit; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est. Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. Where for that observable term of the glory of obedience, a like parallel may be noted in *Plinius* Panegyrick to *Trajan*, speaking of the Emperess his Wife, *Uxor* sufficit obsequii gloria.

† Major est obsequii gloria in eo quod quæ minime velis. Plin. Panegyrr.

|| Qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui iussu aliquid facit, miser est: sed qui invito facit. Senec. Epist. 61.

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not do. Not him who being commanded doth a thing, can we call miserable; but him who doth unwillingly what is commanded him.

We read that when the Souldiers cried out unto *Valentinian* the Elder, whom they had newly elected Emperour, that he should take to himself an

\* associate; he made this answer unto them, † It lay in you to chuse me your Governour: but now you have chosen me, what you desire is not in your own power, but in mine. It belongs to you, as Subjects, to be quiet and rest contented; and to me, as your King, to consider what is fit to be done. And for the general duty of obedience to Kings, we find

the testimonies of Gods Word gathered together by the Archbishops and Bishops of *France* assembled in a National Synod, held at *Paris* in the year of our Lord DCCCXXIX under this title,

|| That all Subjects ought humbly and faithfully to obey the Regal Power, as being ordained by none but God: the last whereof, taken out of *Jer.*

\* *Quantulum refert deponas, an patriar. imperium? nisi quod difficilius hoc est. Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.*

† Το μὲν ἐλάττω με ἀρχὸν  
ὄντα, ὃ ἀνδρῶν σπουδῇ τετα-  
κέν ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλοτρίᾳ,  
ὃ νῦν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐν ὑμῶν,  
ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῶν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ  
μὲν ἀρχιερέως ὑμῶν δουλείαν  
ἀρῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἷς βασιλεὺς  
τῶν μεγάλων σκοποῦν. So-  
zomen. hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 6.

¶ Quod potestati Regali,  
quæ non nisi à Deo ordinata  
est, humiliter atque fideliter  
cunctis parere debeant subje-  
cti. Conc. Paris. VI. l. 2. c. 8.  
(tom. 2. Conc. Gall. p. 333.)

29. 7. is thus by them enforced, \* If Jeremy the Prophet of God admonished them to pray for the life of Nebuchodonosor an idolatrous King; how much more ought humble supplications to be made by all sorts of men for the safety of Christian Kings? Which Optatus delivered long before them out of 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. † Deservedly doth Paul teach that we should pray for Kings and those that are in authority, although the Emperor were such as did live rather like a Pagan than a Christian: and Chrysostom, out of Rom. 13. 7. || If he prescribed these things, the Governours being at that time Infidels; much more ought this to be done under those who have received the Faith. All which, by just Analogy, may be deduced out of that rule which the Apostle layeth down, in 1 Tim. 6. 1, 2. Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own Masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not

\* Sic (leg. Si) Hieremias propheta Dei pro vita idololatricæ Regis Nebuchodonosor orare admonet; quanto magis pro salute Christianorum Regum ab omnibus ordinibus Deo est humiliter supplicandum? Ibid. pag. 534.

† Merito Paulus docet, orandum esse pro Regibus & potestatibus: etiamsi talis esset Imperator qui gentiliter viveret. Optat l. 3. contra Parmenian.

|| Εἰ δὲ Ἕλληνων ὄντων τότε καὶ ἀρχόντων ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησε. πολλῶν μάλιστα γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις ταῖς γενεαῖς. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Serm. 23.

blasphemed. And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren: but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit.

For the further declaration whereof, we may observe;

First, *A Household is a kind of a little Common-wealth, and a Common-wealth a great Household*: as is observed both by

\* *Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, and by *Eustathius* upon that Verse of *Homer*,

\* Ὅσαρ δὲ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία πρὸς οἰκίας ὅτιν, ἡ τῶς ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως, καὶ ἔστιν ἐνδὲς ἡ πλείων, οἰκονομία. *Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 11.* & in *Stobai Eclogis Ethicis* (p. 195. Edit. Plantin.) Μικρὸν γάρ πρὸς οἶκον ἐστὶ πόλις, ὁ οἶκος.

† Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἶκοιο ἀναξ ἔσμι' ἡμέτεροιο.

† *Hom. Odyss. α'. vers. 297.* ad quem *Eustathius*, Ὅρα δὲ ὅτι ἐν Ἰλιάδῃ, ὅπου καὶ ὁδε ἀνακταὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐπὶ τῷ λέγει σημανῶς διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸ οἶκον πόλιν εἶναι μικρὸν. Ὅσαρ ἂν πόλιν τὸ πόλιν, οἶκον μέγαν.

|| *Quod dixit de domino & servo, hoc intelligite de potestatibus & Regibus, & de omnibus culminibus hujus seculi.* *August. in Psal. 124.*

And therefore what in the one a Husband, a Father, and a Master may expect from those who have such relations to him; the like, by due proportion, is to have place in the other. For || *that which the Apostle speaketh of the Master and the Servant, is to be understood likewise of Powers, and Kings, and of all the high Estates of this World, saith S. Augustine.*

Second.



Secondly, That as St. Paul elsewhere adviseth Christian Servants to carry themselves as they ought to do toward their Masters, \**That they might adorn* \* Tit. 2. 10. *the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things*: so in this place he dissuadeth them from the contrary upon the same ground, *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed*; as in that other place also he requires Wives to be mindful of the duty they owe unto their Husbands, † *that the Word of God* † Tit. 2. 5. *might not be blasphemed*. Which S. Peter doth thus forcibly press for that subjection which Christian Subjects owe to their Kings and Governours; || *For so* || 1 Pet. 2. 15. *is the will of God*, saith he, *that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men*. And why foolish? because there cannot be imagined a greater folly than to charge the Profession it self, or the doctrine of God, which utterly condemneth these disorders, with the contrary practice of the Professors. Which cavil yet the Apostle would have us really confute by our good behaviour: and so either stop the mouths of these Fools altogether; or if they will needs open them, make them to do it with shame enough: \* *that whereas they speak evil of us, as of* \* 1 Pet. 3. 16. *evil-*

evil-doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ.

Thirdly, That how unworthy soever Masters (and by the same reason Parents and Magistrates) be otherwise in respect of their personal defects; yet such as God hath placed under their authority, are to count them worthy not onely of honour, but also of all honour: we being not herein so much to look unto their persons as unto the Ordinance of God, who hath placed them over us; and wisely to consider, that in respect of that dignity and power received from above, not of their personal vertues, all this Honour is due unto

them, \* Although he be a contemner of the Laws and a wicked man, yet is he a Father notwithstanding, saith Justinian: and † the person of the Father, saith Ulpian, ought always to be accounted honourable and sacred to the child. So for other Governments: || He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For what kind of men those ought to be that do command, is not to be discussed by their Subjects, saith

† Εἰς τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀπο-  
κρίσιν εἰς τὴν ἀσκήσιν, ἀλλὰ  
πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοῦς ὅτι. Justin.  
Noycl. 12.

† Liberto & filio semper honesta & sancta persona patris ac patroni videri debet. l. Liberto. D. de obsequ. parent. & patron. præst.

|| Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Quales enim esse debeant, hi qui imperant non est à subditis discutendum. Lib. de conflictu Victor. & Virtut. c. 5. (tom. 9. oper. Augustin.)

saith the Author of the Book of the Conflict betwixt Vices and Vertues. For \*whether the Power be good or bad, saith Haymo, whosoever doth resist it ( by withdrawing his Service from it, by denying tribute, and not giving unto it that honour which he ought to give ) resisteth the Ordinance and disposition of God, by whose appointment they bear rule. And thus even among the Heathen, *Marcellus* ( in *Tacitus* ) professeth that he † prayed and wished indeed for good Princes ; but would tolerate them whatsoever they were : and *Petilius Cerealis* ( in the same Author ) useth the like perswasion unto others. || As you endure sometimes barrenness and drought, and sometimes immoderate rain, and such other inconveniences of nature, so tolerate the riotous life\* and avarice of your Governours. As long as men are, faults will be. The comfort is, they are not continual, and are countervailed by the intervention of better things.

Fourthly, That difference of Religion

\* Sive bona sit illa potestas, seu mala, quicunque ei resistit (subtrahendo servitium ab ea, denegando tributum, & honorem non præbendo quem ei debet præbere) Dei ordinationi resistit & dispositioni, cujus ordinatione isti principantur. Haymo in Rom. 13

† Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare. Tacit. Hist lib. 4.

|| Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera natura mala ; ita luxum, vel avaritiam dominantium tolerare. Vicia erunt, donec homines : sed neque hæc continuæ, & meliorum intervntu pensantur. Id. ibid.

ligion doth make no whit less due this Honour to our Superiours: for, not in regard of their Religion do we owe it to them, but of their dignity, and the power God hath given them over us.

\* *Hinc est ut gentilem in potestate tamen positum honorificamus; licet ipse indignus sit, qui Dei ordinem tenens, gratias agit Diabolo. Potestas enim exigit, quia mereatur honorem. Quæst. 5. ex vet. & Nov. Test. (tomo 4. oper. August.)*

And \* hence it is (saith the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, (thought to be the Roman Deacon Hilary) that we give honour unto a Pagan, if placed in Authority; although he be in himself most unworthy of it, who holding Gods place, gives the Devil thanks for it: but the honour we give to him, his Place challengeth.

† Eph. 6. 1, 2. Lastly, That S. Paul in this place with Honour doth couple Service as the most considerable part thereof. Which maketh him elsewhere † out of the Commandment, Honour thy Father and Mother, to infer this duty of obedience, Children obey your Parents in the Lord: for it is right.

‡ *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum. Cicer. lib. 2. de Divinar.*

And yet, || as nothing could be spoken so absurdly which was not maintained by some of the Philosophers; so wanted there not some of them, who endeavoured to over-

overthrow this so great a right (and so deeply founded in the Law of God, and the light of Nature) with this poor and

filly Sophism, *\* Either the Father doth command that which is right, or that which is wrong.*

*If he command that which is right; it is to be obeyed, not because he commandeth it, but because Justice requires it should be done: if what is wrong, surely because wrong it ought*

*not to be done. And therefore the Father is not to be obeyed in any thing which he commandeth.*

To this † frivolous and vain argumentation (which taketh away all obedience as well in Church and Commonwealth as in private Families)

A. Gellius makes answer, that

|| this Proposition, *Either the things which a Father commandeth are good or bad,* is imperfect; there wanting the third member in the disjunction, which compriseth such things as in themselves are neither good nor bad, but of a *\* middle and indifferent* nature. Of this division tripartite thus Bernard clearly and signifi-

*\* Aut recte, inquit, imperat pater, aut perperam. Si recte imperat; non quia imperat parendum, sed quoniam id fieri ius est, faciendum est: si perperam; nequaquam scilicet faciendum, quod fieri non oportet. Nunquam igitur est patri parendum quod imperat. A. Gell. l. 2. c. 7.*

† *Argutiola quippe hac frivola & inanis est. Ibid.*

|| *Non integra est propositio dicenda, Aut honesta sunt quæ imperat pater, aut turpia. Neque hæc disjunctio tripartita videri potest; deest enim disjunctioni istæ tertium, Aut neque honesta sunt, neque turpia.*

*\* Quæ in medio sunt, & à Græcis tum ἀδιάφορα tum μέτρα appellantur. Ibid.*

\* Sane hoc advertendum quod quedam sunt pura bona, quedam pura mala: & in his nullam deberi hominibus obedientiam; quoniam nec illa omittenda sunt etiam cum prohibentur, nec ista vel cum jubentur committenda. Porro inter hæc sunt media quedam, quæ pro modo, loco, tempore, vel persona, & mala possunt esse & bona: Et in his lex posita est obedientiæ, tanquam in ligno scientiæ boni & mali, quod erat in medio Paradisi. In his profecto fas non est nostrum sensum sententiæ præscribere Magistrorum. Bernard. Ep. 7.

cantly, \* Some things are purely good, some purely evil. In these no obedience is due unto men: forasmuch as the former are not to be omitted although they should be forbidden, nor the latter committed although they should be commanded. But between these there are certain middle things, which, in respect of the manner, place, time, or person, may be both good and evil. In these the law of obedience takes place, as it were in the tree of knowledge of good,

and evil, which was in the midst of Paradise. And in things of this kind it is not lawful for us to prefer our own minds before the pleasure of our Masters.

So that if any man will be so perverse as to call in question the Power which his Superiour hath to command in things of this middle and indifferent nature; you see how easily he may be persuaded to shake hands with those Libertines, who hold themselves not bound to give obedience to the commandments of man in any thing. Whereas men of sound judgment have always been of the mind, that the Authority  
of

of such as God hath placed over us should be esteemed so unviolable, that unless the thing by them commanded did certainly and evidently appear to be unlawful, we ought to yield obedience thereunto; and not to suspend or defer the doing thereof upon every idle scruple that may come into our heads, much less do otherwise than we are commanded, because we imagine we have better reason to lead us otherwise. And therefore when *Crassus*, having occasion to make a Ram for the battery of the Walls of a certain Town in *Asia*, gave order that of two beams, which he had seen, the greater should be sent to him; and the Master of the Works sent the smaller, as in his opinion more fit for the use intended, and much more easie for carriage; he caused the Fellow to be soundly whipped for his labour, as well \* *knowing that*

*all power of command would be extinguished, if men should be permitted to satisfie what should be enjoined to them, not with obedience due to it, but counsel not desired of them.*

\* *Corrumpi atque dissolvi officium omne imperantis ratus, si quis ad id quod facere iussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondeat. A. Gell. l. i. c. 13. ubi id desiderato ex primis Venetis editionibus Locatelli & Aldi est repositum:*

*pro quo recentiores considerato legunt.*

And

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And who seeth not what confusion would be brought, as well into a Family as a State, if a Son, or a Servant, or a Subject might have liberty to stand upon terms and chop Logick with his Father, Master, or Prince, and refuse to yield obedience to their commands, until he

should see some reason for it?

\* *Juriconsultorum valent responsa, etiamsi ratio non redditur. Senec. Epist. 94.*

\* *When the Lawyers are consulted (saith Seneca) their answers are received and stood*

*to, although they come accompanied with no reasons.* And ought not this much more to have place in the Law it self?

which should be accepted

† *Velut dimissa Divinitus vox sit; jubeat non disputer. Id Ibid.*

† *as a voice from God, that should command and not dispute.* Whereunto that ob-

servation of Plutarch also might be added, that ||

|| Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἄνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται, τὸ εὐλογον αἰπλῶς ἔχουσι καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ κομισθῆ λογία τῷ ἀρεταγμάτων. Εἰ ποῦ, καὶ ὅλως πελλὰς ἂν τις ἔξειποι νόμων ἀτοπίας. μᾶτε τὸ λόγον ἔχον τὸ νομοθέτε, μῖτε τὸ αἰτίας σωμῆς ἐχόν τὸ χαρμένον. Plutarch. in lib. de his qui sero à numine puniuntur.

*mens Laws carry not with them always an apparent reason of the things commanded in them; but may oftentimes seem ridiculous and absurd to him that knoweth not the mind of the Law-giver, nor the cause why those Laws at first were written: together with that smart saying of St. Augustine, Think rather*



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*ther \* what course you are to take with those who will not obey, and how to handle them; then trouble your self to make it appear to them that their disobedience is a thing unlawful.*

*\* Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt cogitandum est, quam quemadmodum eis ostendas non licere quod faciunt.*

August. Epist. 73. ad Possid.

Nay for the preventing of these scrupulous questionings of the commands of our Superiours, and the curious enquiries into the reasons of them; the Spirit of God requires our obedience, not in *some* thing onely (which we shall judge to be fitting in our own fancy) but indefinitely in *all*. For so do his precepts run, *\* Let wives be subject to their own husbands in EVERY thing.* *\* Ephes. 5. 24. with 1 Tim. 2. 11.*

*† Children, obey your Parents in ALL things.* *† Colos. 3. 20.*

*|| Servants obey in ALL things your Masters.* *|| Colos. 3. 22. with Tit. 2. 9.*

Agreeable whereunto is that profession; made by the Israelites unto *Joshua* their Prince, *∴ ALL that thou commandest us we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go: according as we hearkned unto Moses in ALL things, so will we hearken unto thee.* *∴ Josh. 1. 16, 17.*

To which rules so general we may not add any other exception, but that wherewith the Apostle qualifieth a like precept of our peaceable carriage toward

\* Rom. 12. 18. ward all, \* *If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* This going also for a currant Rule in the Civil Law, that † *Impossibilium nulla obligatio est*: || and in the Canon, *Nemo potest ad impossibile obligari.*

† D. de Regul. juris l. 145. (al. 185.) || *Nemo potest, de Regul. juris in VI.*

Now among such things as *can not be done* are reckoned, not onely those which are in their own nature impossible, (as that a man should pull down the Moon) or in respect of ones particular condition fall to be such, (as to pay a greater sum of money than his ability or credit can reach unto:) but those also that are repugnant to the Law of God and the known rules of

Piety and honesty. \* *Let one*

\* *Faciat homo etiam pro temporali hominum salute, quod potest. Cum autem ad hunc articulum ventum fuerit, ut tali saluti consulere, nisi peccando, non possit, jam se existimet non habere quid faciat, quando id reliquum esse perpexerit quod non recte faciat. Augustin. lib. contra mendacium cap. 7.*

*do for the temporal preservation of men, saith S. Augustin, what he is able. But when the matter is come to this pass that he cannot procure this preservation otherwise than by committing a sin, let him then think he CAN do nothing, when he shall see there is nothing left to*

*do, but that which he cannot do with a good conscience. This passage is put by Gratian into the Decret. where thus the Gloss speaketh, That onely we are*  
\* *thought*

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*\* thought we can do, which we can justly do : And the Gloss upon the Regula in VI. in a like expression, † So much it is esteemed we can do, as we can do lawfully. Papinian in the Civil Law more fully to the same effect, || Such acts as wrong our piety, reputation, modesty, and (to speak generally) are done against good manners, it is not to be believed that we are able to do them.*

*\* Ex hoc cap. habes, quod solum illud dicimur posse facere, quod iuste facere possumus. Gloss. 22. quaest. 2. c. Faciat.*

*† Id dicimur posse, quod de jure possumus. Gloss. de Regul. jur. 58. in VI.*

*|| Quae facta ledunt pietatem, existimationem, vericundiam nostram, & (ut generaliter dixerim) contra bonos mores sunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est. L. filius D. de condit. institut.*

Yea the same Word of God which commandeth Wives and Children to be subject to their Husbands and Parents in ALL things, omitteth not elsewhere to add hereunto this necessary limitation, *\* Children obey your Parents in the Lord. † Wives, submit your selves unto your own Husbands, as it is fit, in the Lord: and for the general, || Submit your selves one to another, in the fear of God.* Whereupon when Pharaoh had given order for the killing of the male-children of the Hebrews, we find this commendation given to the Parents of Moses, that they were *∴ not afraid of the Kings commandment; and to the Hebrew Midwives, that they feared God and did not as the King commanded them,*

*but*

*\* Ephes. 6. 1.*

*† Colos. 3. 18.*

*|| Ephes. 5. 31.*

*∴ Heb. 11. 23.*

*\* Exod. 1. 17.*

\* Mat. 10. 28.

but saved the men-children alive. Which is consonant to that precept of our Saviour, \* *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* To which we may refer what S. Augustin hath by way of Dialogue between the Pagan Emperour and the Christian Subject; † *Pay me my tribute, shew me thy obedience. Willingly: but not in the temple of Idols: there I am forbidden to do it. Who forbids thee? A Power far greater than yours. Be pleased therefore to excuse me.*

*You threaten to cast me into Prison, he into Hell.*

Hence come those restrictions in this kind which we meet withall in others of the Ancients: as in the Constitutions attributed to Clement, || *Be*

|| Πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀρχῇ ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀρξεται Θεός. Conit. Apost. l. 4. c. 12.

∴ Τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκινδυνῶς ἢ ὑποτάγη. Epist. ad Antiochen.

*subject to every King and Governour, in such things wherein God is pleased: and in the Epistle to the Antiochians, fathered upon Ignatius, ∴ Be subject unto Caesar, in such things wherein your subjection may be without danger: and in that Speech which Polycarpus uttered unto the Proconsul*

consul of *Asia*, immediately before his Martyrdom,\* *We are taught to*

*give unto Principalities and Powers, ordained by God, such honour as becometh them, and doth not hurt us.* Whereunto you may add, if you please, that passage of *Tertullian*,

† *As touching the honours due to Kings or Emperours, we have it sufficiently prescribed, that in all obedience we ought (according to the precept of the Apostle) to be subject unto Magistrates, Princes and Powers: but within the bounds of discipline, so far forth as we may separate our selves from Idolatry: and the rule of S. Basil, || that we ought to be subject to the higher Powers in such things as Gods command hinder not.*

This distinction therefore must necessarily be made in the divers commands of Princes: that some are of such things as may and ought to be done, others of such as cannot or ought not to be done. The former are of two sorts: either such as God hath tied us unto before,

\* Δεδοδύγηθα ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἑξουσίαις ὑποθεῖν τιμὰς καὶ τὸ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ μὴ βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς ἀποτίμην. Epist. Eccles. Smyr. apud Euseb. lib. 4. Hist. Eccl. cap. 14.)

† Quod attinet ad honores Regum vel Imperatorum, satis prescriptum habemus, in omni obsequio nos esse oportere, secundum Apostoli preceptum, subditos magistratibus & principibus, & potestatibus; sed intra limites discipline, quousque ab idololatria separamur. Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 15.

|| Ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ ἑξουσίαις ὑποτασσόμενοι ὡς κυρίου, ἐν ᾧς ἂν ἐνταλῇ Θεὸς καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ. Basil. in Ethicis, Regul. 79.

before, whether the Prince had enjoined them or not, or such as otherwise being of a middle & indifferent nature, the Prince (for reasons best known to himself) thinks fit to interpose his authority in. Of the one whereof S. Au-

\* Cum bonam jubent Imperatores, per illos non jubet nisi Christus. Aug. Epist. 166.

† Quicumque autem legibus Imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium. Id. Epist. 50.

¶ Quando autem Imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipsa veritate contra errorem jubent: quod quisquis contempserit, ipse sibi iudicium acquirit. Nam & inter homines penas luit, & apud Deum sortem non habebit; quia hoc facere noluit quod ei per cor Regis ipsa veritas iussit. Id. Epist. 166.

shall have no part with God; because he would not do that which Truth it self by the Kings heart commanded him to do. To the other we may refer that of the

\* Regi licet in civitate cui regnat, jubere aliquid, quod neque ante illum quisquam,

Augustine writeth thus, \* When Emperors command that which is good, it is Christ and none else that commandeth by them: and † whosoever will not obey the Laws made by them for Gods truth, incurreth a grievous judgment. Which elsewhere also he thus specifieth, in a larger manner, ¶ When Emperours do profess the truth, they command for Truth against Error: and whosoever condemneth their commands, purchaseth to himself condemnation. For he shall both suffer punishment among men, and what

what neither any man before him, nor he himself before did command: and yet are not the liberties of the State impeached by obeying, but rather by not obeying the same: and that likewise of Bernard, \* There are things of a middle nature, which in themselves are neither good nor evil: yet may indifferently, both well and ill, either be forbidden or commanded; but neither by the Subjects be ill obeyed.

But how are Subjects to carry themselves, when such things are enjoined as can not or ought not to be done? Surely not to accuse the commander, but humbly to avoid the command;

as \* Gratian would have us do if our Prelates should go about to constrain us unto evil: or, as some of the Heathen have more fully expressed it, † Even those commands which we ought not to obey, mildly and modestly, without too great detestation, and without any bitterness of upbraiding or of reproof, are to be declined gently, and rather as it were omitted than rejected.

And, when nothing else will serve the

nec ipse unquam iusserat: & non contra societatem civitatis ejus obtemperatur, imò contra societatem non obtemperatur. Id. lib. 3. Confess. c. 8. \* Sunt media, quæ quidem per se nec bona esse noscuntur nec mala: possunt tamen indifferenter, & bene pariter & male, vel prohiberi vel jubei; sed male nullatenus in his à subditis obediri. Bernardus Epist. 7.

\* Non hoc exemplo probantur Prælati accusandi à subditis: sed forma tantum datur humiliter veniendi Prælati, si forte eos ad malum cogere voluerint. 2. qu. 7. C. Nos si incompetenter.

† Sed et tamen, quæ obsequi non oportet, leniter & verecunde, ac sine detestatione nimia, sineque approbatione acerba reprehensionis, declinanda sensim & relinquenda esse dicunt quam respuenda. A Gell. lib. 2. c. 7.

P

turn,

turn, as in things that may be done we are to express our submission by *active*, so in things that cannot be done we are to declare the same by *passive* obedience, without resistance and repugnancy: such a kind of suffering being as sure a sign of subjection: as any thing else whatsoever.

When *Pharaoh* imposed an impossible task upon the *Israelites*, that they should get them Straw where they could find it, and yet make up every day the same tale of Bricks which they had done formerly when they had Straw given to them: their Officers could not escape *beating*, for all the unreasonableness of that exaction. \* *And the Officers of the children of Israel, saith the Text, did see they were in evil case, after it was said, Ye shall not minish ought from your Bricks of your daily task.* In this so evil a case, where *active* obedience could in no wise be performed, *passive* must serve the turn. So when *Darius* was drawn to sign that ungodly Decree, that *Whosoever should ask a Petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the King, he should be cast into the den of Lions*; *Daniel*, being none of those who would † *chuse iniquity rather than*

\* Exod. 5. 19.

† Job 36. 21,



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than affliction, made no scruple at all  
\* to kneel upon his knees three times a \* Dan. 6. 10.  
day, and to pray and give thanks before  
his God, as he did aforetime : and when  
afterward, † through faith he had stopped † Heb. 11. 33.  
the mouths of the Lions, out of the bot-  
tom of that den he was able to say with  
a clear conscience, || Before my God in- || Dan. 6. 28.  
nocency was found in me ; and also before  
thee, o King, have I done no hurt.

He that consults with flesh and blood,  
will hardly be induced to admit this  
doctrine of passive obedience : and  
therefore if he will learn this lesson, he  
must make choice of better Masters ;  
and listen in the first place to the advice  
of Solomon, ∴ Trust in the Lord with ∴ Prov. 3. 5.  
all thine heart ; and lean not unto thine  
own understanding : and to that oracle  
of the Son of God himself, \* If any \* Mat. 16. 24,  
man will come after me, let him deny  
himself, and take up his cross, and follow  
me. Then must he raise up his thoughts  
to the height of that Beatitude, which  
our Saviours own mouth hath given  
assurance of to all such as will be ruled  
by him herein, † Blessed are they which † Mat. 5. 10.  
are persecuted for righteousness sake : for 11, 12.  
theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed  
are you when men shall revile you, and per-  
secute

secute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Where, for the recompence of the reward, he is to weigh with S. Paul

\* 2 Cor. 4. 17. how \* our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory: and for the precedent of the Prophets, to give ear unto that exhortation of S. James, † Take, my brethren, the Prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience: and withall to cast his eye not onely upon that || great cloud of witnesses in the time of the Old Testament, of whom some .: were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment, were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, &c. but also upon that innumerable company of Confessors and Martyrs in the time of the New: the former of whom \* after they were illuminated, endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a gazing

† Jam. 5. 10.

|| Heb. 12. 1.

. Heb. 11. 35;  
36, 37.\* Heb. 10. 32,  
33, 34.

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gazing stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilst they became companions of them that were so used, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance: the other  
 \* loved not their lives unto the death, \* Rev. 12. 11.  
 but laid down their † heads for the witness of Jesus, and by that glorious  
 † Rev. 20. 4.  
 || death of theirs glorified God. || John 21. 19.

But above all we are to ∴ look unto ∴ Heb. 12. 2, 3.  
 Jesus himself, the author and finisher of our faith: who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. With which highest example (of him who \* thought \* Phil. 2. 6, 8.  
 it no robbery to be equal unto God, and yet humbled himself and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross)  
 S. Peter closeth up those † forcible words † Job 6. 25.  
How forcible  
are right  
words?  
 of his, wherewith he thus presseth the performance of this passive obedience whereof now we speak, || This is thank- || 1 Pet. 2. 19,  
20, &c.  
 worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with  
 P 3                      God.

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God. For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatned not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.

But those stiff spirits, that will not stoop unto this passive kind of obedience (if they can help it) think they have stricken the matter dead by proposing this case unto us: Suppose, say they, the King should command us to worship the Devil. Would you wish us here to lay down our heads upon the block, and not give us leave to stand upon our guard, and to the utmost of our power repel the violence of such a miscreant? If not, what would become of Gods Church, and his Religion? As if this had been a new case, never heard of before: and the Apostle had not sufficiently declared unto us, that \* the things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to Devils and not to God. And yet when this Devil-worship was so vehemently urged by the cruel Edicts of the persecuting Emperours, did the Christians ever take Arms against them for the  
mat-

\* 1 Cor. 20. 20.

matter? or betook themselves to any other refuge but fervent prayers to Almighty God (whom they acknowledged to be their *Princes* onely superior) and patient suffering of what disgrace or punishment soever should be imposed upon them? To the cheerful undergoing whereof, see how S. Peter, in that forecited Epistle, doth animate and encourage them: \* *Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you. But rejoice in as much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth on you: who on their part is evil spoken, but on your part he is glorified. But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busie-body in other mens matters. Yet if any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorifie God on this behalf.*

\* 1 Pet. 4. 12, 13, &c.

Lo, † there is the patience of the Saints: † Rev. 14. 12  
here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. Here are they that stuck not to || resist unto blood, || Heb. 12 4.

striving against sin: and yet make conscience of resisting the power of their Prince; as having learned, that their obedience to God might well stand with their subjection to the authority placed by him in Man. Whereby so far off was it that \* the gates of Hell (or Death) did prevail against the Church, that the blood of this noble army of Martyrs became the fruitful seminary thereof. For † the Christian

\* Mat. 16. 18.

† Christiana fides per multa retro secula, sævientibus undique adversum se gentibus, Regibus, legibus, cadibus, crucibus ac mortibus, reprimi nullo modo potuit; imò inter hæc & per hæc crevit. P. Oros. Hist. l. 6. c. 1.

|| Fremuit mundus, erexit se leo adversus agnum: sed fortior leone inventus est agnus. Leo villus est seviendo, agnus vicit patiendo, Aug. in Psal 149.

∴ Fundendo sanguinem, & patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia: persecutionibus crevit, Martyriis coronata est. Hier. adv. errores Johan, Hierosol, Ep. 62.

faith, for many Ages together, being distressed every way by Nations, Kings, Laws, Slaughters, Crosses, and Deaths, and yet be no manner of way repressed; yea in the midst of these, and by the means of these it grew, saith Paulus Orosius. || The world raged, saith S. Augustin, the Lion lifted himself up against the Lamb, but the Lamb was found stronger than the Lion. The Lion was overcome by shewing cruelty, the Lamb did overcome by suffering. And S. Hierom, ∴ By shedding of blood, and by suffering rather than by doing injuries, was the Church of Christ

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at first founded : it grew by persecutions, and by martyrdoms was crowned.

But if mens hands be thus tied, will some say, no mans state can be secure : nay the whole frame of the Commonwealth would be in danger to be subverted and utterly ruined by the unbridled lust of a distempered Governour.

I answer, Gods Word is clear in the point, \* *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God : and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation : and thereby a necessity is imposed upon us of being subject, even for conscience sake ; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any ensuing mischief whatsoever.* For by this means we should have liberty given unto us to † *speak evil of the Law, and to judge the Law.* But if thou judge the Law, thou art not a Doer of the Law, but a Judge, saith S. James. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part ; and leave the ordering of events to God, whose part onely that is.

Again, the ground of this objection is exceeding faulty ; and standeth not with the rules of *Humanity* or *Divinity*, either of sound *Policy* or true *Piety*. For in the one, who of us have not heard

\* Rom. 13. 2, 5.

† James 4. 11.

heard of that common Rule of our Common Law, that *a Mischief is better than an inconvenience?* Not that our Common Lawyers were so void of common understanding, as to imagine that a *mischief*, in it self formally considered, should be preferred before an *inconvenience*: but that an inconvenience, the consequence whereof would reach unto the general, should much more be prevented than any mischief which might fall out in any particular case, or tend to the greatest detriment of any person individual.

\* Deut. 17.

† 1 King. 21.

13.

Thus for the determining of matters of fact, and the judgment depending thereupon, the Law established by God himself is this, \* *At the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death.* By the subornation of false witnesses it falleth out here that † *Naboth*, who is not worthy of death, is yet put to death. The shedding of innocent blood, a very great mischief in that particular; but yet was to be given way unto, rather than the inconvenience should be admitted in the general, that nothing should be determined upon the testimony of two witnesses. So in the de-

fining



fining of matters of *right*, sometimes it so falleth out, that by the unskilfulness, negligence or corruption of the Judge, the cause of the righteous is overthrown, and judgment quite perverted: and yet is he, notwithstanding his miscarriage in such particulars, accounted still in the number of \* *the gods*; and his <sup>\* Psal. 82. 1, 2, 5, 6.</sup> Tribunal graced with the honourable title of † *the place of judgment* and the <sup>† Eccl. 3. 16.</sup> place of righteousness. And therefore, as our Saviour speaketh in the former case, || *It is written in your Law, that the testimony of two men is true*, that is, (as the former words of the Law it self have || Joh. 8. 17. it) ∴ *at the mouth of two witnesses is the matter to be established*: so in this other it goeth for a rule in the Civil Law, that \* *a thing adjudged is accepted for truth*: especially if it be freely, and without all colour of surreption, so adjudged by the Prince, whose † *sentence is presumed always to be just*, and therefore not to be appealed from. For if things should not be thus ended by the last sentence of the highest Judge, this intolerable inconvenience would ensue there-

\* *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur.* Ulpian. in D. l. 207. de Regul. juris. & l. Ingenuum de statu hom.

† *Principis sententia presumitur semper justa: unde ab eo non appellatur.* Cynus in l. Rescripta, Cod. de precib. imper. offerend.

thereupon in the general matter of judicature, that Strifes would prove infinite, Suits immoral, and all Controversies indeterminable. To which purpose also *Aeneas Silvius* writeth thus, \* *Although sometime iniquity and unjust judgment do proceed from the highest tribunal; yet must not a place therefore be given unto an appeal; seeing there is no Judge that may examine the temporal acts of the Emperour.*

\* *Quamvis à summo solio nunquam procedat iniquitas, injustumque judicium prodeat; non tamen idcirco locus est appellationi, cum nemo sit iudex qui temporalia Caesaris facta valeat examinare. Utilius insuper est Reipublicæ ad extinguendas lites, paucis injuste oppressis appellationis beneficium denegare, quam multos calumniantibus, postquam iuste damnati fuerint, querelarum januas aperire: cum varissimi sint qui se iuste reputent condemnatos; semperque minus malum tolerandum sit, ut evitetur majus. Nempe ubi licitum est appellare, ibi quoque lites sine fine reperiuntur; ubi sunt inimicitie, ibi contentiones, ibi nova dictum scandala.* *Æn. Silv. de orru & authorit. Imperii, cap. 23.*

*Besides it is more profitable to the Commonwealth for the extinguishing of Strifes, that the benefit of an appeal should be denied unto a few that are unjustly oppressed, than that the gates of complaints should be opened unto many that shall calumniate, after they have been justly condemned: seeing they are exceeding rare who will ac-*

*count themselves to have been justly condemned: and the lesser evil is always to be tolerated, that the greater may be avoided. Surely where it is always lawful to appeal, there also are found Strifes without end; there are enmities, there are new Scandals every day.*

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When \*out of a discomfited army, every tenth Souldier is beaten with a cudgel, the lot falleth also upon the valiant. Every such great exemplary punishment hath somewhat that is unjust in it; which being in particular to the prejudice of some, is yet recompensed by the general profit of the whole, saith Cassius, in Tacitus: and Tully speaking of the Office of the plebeian Tribunes, † I confess, saith he, that there is some evil in that Government; but the good which is sought in it we could not have without that evil.

And it is the part of a prudent man in matters of this nature, to consider as well the inconveniences of the one side as the conveniences of the other, and wisely to compare together the mischiefs that are like to break out on either side; and especially to take care that the remedy which is thought upon, do not in the end prove far worse than the disease for the helping whereof it was provided. As in the particular now in hand; that the People may oppose their Kings, and withstand them even with arms, when they conceive the courses taken by

\* Ex fuso exercitu cum decimus quisque fuste feritur, etiam strenui fortiantur. Habet aliquid ex iniquo omnis magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos, utilitate publica rependitur. Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.

† Ego fateor in ista potestate inesse quiddam mali: sed bonum quod questum est in ea, sine ista malo non haberemus. Cicer. lib. de Leg.

them do tend to the dishonour of God or the great detriment of the Commonwealth, may seem to vulgar minds (that look after nothing so much as their own liberty) to be a matter that standeth with very great reason: while in the meantime they take no notice at all of the high mischiefs rather than ordinary inconveniences, which are inseparable companions of such a desperate combination.

\* Ἄνω πῶτα μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ  
ῥῆσι παλαι.  
καὶ δὴ καὶ πάντα πάλιν ἐν-  
σταται.

Euripid. in Medea.

† Prov. 19. 10. such, that † *delight is not seemly for a Fool; much less for a Servant to have rule over Princes.* Besides, what more unreasonable thing can be thought upon, than to allow Subjects to be *Accusers, and Judges, and Executioners* too, and that in their own cause, and against their own Sovereign? whereas

|| *Taceo quod Imperatorem accusatorem esse non conveniat, postremo, iisdem divinis humanisque legibus nemo possit esse accusator & iudex.*  
Symmach. P. Apolog. adv. Anastas. Imp.

one || denied it to be fit that the Emperour himself should be admitted to be an *Accuser*, considering that by all *Laws of God and Man none may be both*

both an Accuser and a Judge. Again, what greater madness can there be, than to seek the preservation of the Commonwealth by making a rent therein, and imbroyling it in a Civil War? than which no speedier means could have been devised to bring it unto utter ruine and desolation. For we know who hath said, \* *If a Kingdom be divided against it self, that Kingdom cannot stand*: and it is a folly to imagine, that when the Subjects have once betaken themselves unto Arms, the King will look on, and be content to sit still by the loss.

\* Mat. 3.24.

† *Arms are irritated by Arms*, saith one, and || *if my Kingdom were of this World*, saith our Saviour, *then would my Servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews*.

† *Arma armis irritantur.*  
Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

|| Joh. 18.36.

The King (you may be sure) will not want his party to join with him: and if he should be put to any streight at home, this would but drive him to supply himself with auxiliary forces from abroad: this being found true \* by experience, (as Tully observeth) that the afflicted states of Kings do easily draw the helps of many unto

\* *Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut Regum afflictæ fortune facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut Re-*

pity,

gis sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quod Regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. Cicero. Orat. pro lege Manil.

pity, and especially of them who are either Kings themselves, or do live in a Kingdom; the Regal name being by them esteemed to be great and sacred.

Which how ready a way it is to subvert the state of any such distracted Kingdom, and to bring it under the subjection of Foreigners, we need not seek further for proof than from our

own Ireland. For \* when one of the petit Kings of this Nation was by domestical dissension driven out of his Country, Julius Agricola received him indeed under the

\* Agricola expulsus seditione domestica unum ex Regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitie in occasionem retinebat. Corn. Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.

colour of curtesie and friendship, but retained him onely till occasion should serve, that he might use this as a means to subdue the whole Island to the Roman Government. And howsoever that project failed, by the recalling of Agricola unto Rome from his Lieutenantship in Brittany; yet afterward when, upon a like occasion, Dermot King of Leinster was forced by his rebellious Subjects to crave the aid of King Henry II. for the restoring of him to his Kingdom, this association produced that effect which now we see, that the Irish lost their

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Dominion, and became subject to the Crown of England even until this day.

Nay to turn our eyes unto Rome it self, and to pass by that known \*Ode \*Epod. lib. of Horace, touching the effect of the Od. 16. Civil Wars there,

*Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,  
Suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit.  
Quam neq; finitimi valuerunt perdere  
(Marci,  
Minacis aut Hetrusca Porſenæ ma-  
nus, &c.*

that of Saluſt (or some other not much inferiour to him) unto Julius Cæſar, a little before the changing of that State into a Monarchy, is worth our confide-

ration, † *This is my opinion: ſeeing all things that have a beginning muſt have an end, whenſoever that fatal time of the deſtruction of the Roman City ſhall come, that Citizens will fight with Citizens, and and ſo having wearied themſelves and loſt their blood, will fall to be a prey unto ſome King or Nation. Otherwiſe neither*

† *Ego ſic exiſtimo; quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempeſtate urbi Romanæ ſatum excidiî advenarit, cives cum civibus manus conſerturos: ita deſectos & exſanguēs, Regi aut Nationi præde futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, neque cunctæ gentes conglobatæ, movere aut contundere queunt hoc imperiū. Firmanda igitur ſunt concordia bona, & diſcordia malî expellenda. Salluſt. Orat. 1. de rep. ordinand. ad C. Cæſar.*

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the whole World, nor all the Nations gathered into one heap, are able to move or quash this Empire: and much more that prognostick of Seneca, delivered not long after that the Monarchy had been founded there by Cæsar; wherein he declareth that the denying of obedience unto that Monarch, would prove the

\* *Hic casus Romanae pacis exitium erit; hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas ager. Tandiu ab isto periculo aberit hic populus, quamdiu sciet ferre frenos: quos si quando abruperit, vel aliquo casu discussos reponi sibi passus non erit; hæc unitas & hic maximi imperii contextus in partes multas dissiliet; idemque huic urbi dominandi finis erit qui parendi fuerit, &c. Olim enim ita se induit Reipubl. Cæsar, ut diduci alterum non possit sine utriusque perniciæ. Nam ut illi viribus opus est, ita & huic capite. Sen. de Clem. l. 1. c. 4.*

undoing of that mighty Empire. \* Such an accident as this, saith he, will be the bane of the Roman Peace; it will bring the fortunes of so great a People unto utter ruine. So long shall this People be free from that danger, as long as it knoweth how to endure the reins: which if at any time it shall break, or, when shaken off by any chance, it shall not suffer to be put on again, the union and contexture of this high

Empire will fall in pieces, and the dominion of this City will expire together with her obedience. For Cæsar heretofore did so embosom and enweave himself into the Commonwealth, that the one cannot be disjoined from the other; without the destruction of them both: for as he hath need



need of Forces, so have they of a Head.

But

\* *O curvæ in terras animæ & cælestium inanes!*

\*Perf. Satyr. 2.  
& ex eo Laſt.  
Div. inſtit. l. 2.  
c. 2.

Have we not read that which was ſpo-  
ken unto us by God? † *The Lord reign-* † Pſal 97 1.  
*eth, let the earth rejoyce: let the many*  
*(or great) ISLES (whereof we are)*  
*be glad thereof, or muſt we yet be tur-*  
*ned a grazing with Nebuchadnezzar,*  
*until we have learned his Leſſon? || that* † Dan. 5. 21. &  
*the moſt high God ruleth in the Kingdom* 4. 17, 25, 32.  
*of men, and that he appointeth over it*  
*whomſoever he will.* For the fuller de-  
claration whereof, it will not be amiſs  
to conſider, firſt, How God doth ap-  
point men over Kingdoms according to  
his own pleaſure; and then, How he  
doth rule in and with them therein.  
Touching the firſt, we may obſerve,  
that God doth ſometime give a King  
unto a People out of love, ſometime  
out of anger. \* *Becauſe the Lord loved* \* 1 King. 10. 9.  
*Israel for ever, therefore made he thee*  
*King, to do Judgment and Juſtice, ſaith*  
*the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.* And

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on

\* Hof. 13. 11. on the other side, \* *I gave thee a King in mine anger, & took him away in my wrath,* saith the Lord himself, by the mouth of his Prophet *Hosea*. Whereby we are further also given to understand, that Gods *wrath* may shew it self in the taking away of a King, as well as his *anger* in giving him: his *wrath*, I say, not against the King himself alone (as it fell out

† 1 Chron. 10. 13, 14. in the case of † *Saul*) but even against the People also, as it appeareth by that acknowledgment of theirs, which went before in the same Prophet, || *We have no King, because we feared not the Lord:* and by a more strange effect of his *wrath* against them, in permitting good Kings sometimes to take evil courses for their punishment; according to that which we find recorded in Scripture,

|| Hof. 10. 3. \* *And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and David was moved* (by Satan) *against them, to say, Go number Israel and Judah: even that David to whom God had given this testimony,* † *I have found David the Son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.*

\* 2 Sam. 24. 1. with 1 Chron. 21. 1. † A&T. 13. 22. God, saith S. Augustin, || *giveth blisse in the Kingdom of Heaven to the godly alone, but this*

|| *Dat felicitatem in regno celorum solis piis, regnum vero terrenum & piis & impiis;*

God, saith S. Augustin, || *giveth blisse in the Kingdom of Heaven to the godly alone, but this*

this earthly Kingdom both to the godly and ungodly, as it pleaseth him, whom nothing unjustly can please. He that gave the Government to Marius, gave it to Cæsar; he who gave it to Augustus, gave it also to Nero; he who gave it to the Vespasians (Father and Son) most sweet and loved Emperours, gave it likewise to that man of cruelty, Domitian:

and (not to recount the rest of them) he who gave it to that Christian Prince Constantine, gave it to that wretch Julian the Apostate. These things without doubt that one and that true God doth rule and govern as he pleaseth, by causes, although hidden, yet not unjust. And this Lesson hath been generally taught

by <sup>a</sup> Ireneus, <sup>b</sup> Origen, <sup>c</sup> Synesius, <sup>d</sup> Theodoret, <sup>e</sup> Olympiodorus, <sup>f</sup> Anastasius Sinaita, <sup>g</sup> Gregory, <sup>h</sup> Isidore, and others of the ancient (to speak nothing of <sup>i</sup> Æneas Silvius, and others of later times) that ac-

sicut ei placet cui nihil injuste placet, &c. Qui Mario, ipse Caio Casari; qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni; qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis Imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo & (ne per singulos ire necesse sit) qui Constantino Christiano, ipse apostata Juliano. Hac plane Deus unus & verus regit & gubernat, ut placet. Et si occultis causis, numquid injustis? August. de civit. Dei, l. 5, c. 21.

<sup>a</sup> Quidam illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem subjectionum dantur, & conservationem justitiæ; quidam autem ad timorem, & penam, & increpationem; quidam autem ad illusionem, & contumeliā, & superbiam, quemadmodum & digni sunt: Dei justo judicio in omnibus æqualiter superveniente. Ireñ. l. 5, c. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Non semper Princeps populi & Ecclesiæ iudex per Dei arbitrium datur; sed prout merita nostra deposcunt. Si mali sunt actus nostri, & operamur malignum in conspectu Domini, dantur nobis Principes secundum cor nostrum. Origen. in lib. Judic. Homil. 4.



they prove worse than they were at their beginning, they should turn their thoughts from the discontent they conceive against the present Government, unto the consideration of their own sins, and the wrath of God punishing the same by this means at which they do repine. It being their duty rather in this case to \* *humble themselves under* \* 1 Pet. 5. 6. *the mighty hand of God*, saying with David, † *I was dumb, I opened not my* † Psal. 39. 9. *mouth, because thou didst it :* and with the Church, in the Prophet Micah, || *I* || Micah 7. 9. *will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him.*

Touching the second, we may observe with S. Augustin, that \* *the Almighty doth work in the hearts of men even the motion of their own will ; that he may work by them that which he hath a mind to work, who knoweth not at all unjustly to will any thing.* Whereunto

\* *Agit omnipotens in cordibus hominum etiam motum voluntatis eorum ; ut per eos agat quod per eos agere voluerit, qui omnino injuste aliquid velle non novit. Aug. de gratia & libero arbitrio. c. 21.*

we may refer that which God speaketh † Isa. 10. 5, 6, 7. concerning the King of Assyria, † *O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. I will send him against an hypocritical Nation ; and against the people of my wrath*

Q 4

will

will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so; neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off Nations not a few.

\* Ib. vers. 12.

\* Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Sion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks: and concerning the King of Babylon after him, † Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away: first the King of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon hath broken his bones. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will punish the King of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the King of Assyria.

|| Πίπτε δὲ καὶ εὖ ποιῶν  
τὸ λόγον τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου. ὃς ὁ  
καρδίαν τῆ βασιλείας λέγει  
(εὖ λέγων) ἐν τῇ τῇ Θεῷ  
παλάμῃ δουροφειδῶ. The-  
mist. Orat. 5. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πε-  
τε ὑποδύμῳ καὶ ὅς Ἀσσυ-  
ρίων χαυμάτων ταυτὸ τῶτο  
κοινοδοκίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ νῦν  
τῆ βασιλείας ἐν τῇ τῇ Θεῷ  
παλάμῃ δουροφειδῶ. Id in  
Orat. 9.

Themistius, a Heathen Ora-  
tor || doth more than once  
commend this sentence, ta-  
ken (as he saith) out of the  
Writings of the Assyrians, that  
the Kings heart is kept in the  
hand of God: by the Assyrians,  
in all probability, meaning  
the Hebrews: and that saying

in

in their Books, which Gregory Nazianzen thus citeth, That \*the

*Kings heart is in the hand of God, is both said and believed.* And so indeed was it said by the wisest of Kings, and so believed by all faithful

\* *Καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡγήνηται καὶ πείσεται.*  
Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 27.  
(quæ in Latina Jo. L. wenkl. edit. 12. cfl.)

people, † *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of water; he* † Prov 21.1.  
*turneth it whithersoever he will.* For

proof whereof we read in the Book of Ezra, that || *the Lord stirred up the Spirit of Cyrus King of Persia, that he made* || Ezra 1.1.  
*a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdom, for the freeing of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity: that he . . .* Chap. 6.22.

*turned the heart of Darius unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, and that he \* put in the* \* Chap. 7. 27.  
*heart of King Artaxerxes to beautifie the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem.*

And what a hand he hath in the restraining them from doing evil unto his servants, we may perceive by that speech which he useth to Abimelech King of Gerar, concerning Sarah the wife of Abraham, *I withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her.* As by that watchful eye which he had over our Head, all his  
poor

poor members may gather this comfort; that all the Potentates upon earth are not able to touch them, until he give them power so to do; and that, at such a time, and in such a place, and in such a measure, as he shall be pleased to limit them unto.

The consideration hereof made the  
 \* A<sup>c</sup>t. 4. 24, 27, 28. Apostles to \* lift up their voice to God *with one accord*, and say, *Of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the People of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* And our Lord Jesus  
 † Luke 13. 31, 33. himself here upon earth, † being warned by some of the Pharisees to get him out of Galilee, because Herod would kill him; told them that he *must walk to day and to morrow, and the day following*, and that *it could not be that a Prophet perish out of Jerusalem*: shewing that it lay not in the power of Herod to appoint either the *time* of his death, nor yet the *place*; which was not to be in Galilee, where his jurisdiction lay, but in Jerusalem, which was then in the power of Pilate the Roman Governour. And when Pilate himself did afterward  
 info-



insolently brag, that he *\* had power to* *\* Joh. 19. 10,*  
*crucifie him, and had power to release*  
*him; he returned him this answer a-*  
*gain, Thou couldst have no power at all*  
*against me, except it were given thee from*  
*above. Which S. Augustin compareth*  
*with that other saying of the Apostle,*  
*† There is no power but of God: and out* *† Rom. 13. 1.*  
*of both deduceth this conclusion,*

*|| A man may have lust to hurt*  
*of his own: but power, if God*  
*do not give it, he hath none.*  
*For that there is no power but*  
*of God, is the definitive sen-*  
*tence of the Apostle. He did*  
*not say, There is no lust but of*  
*God; for there is an evil lust*  
*which is not of God: but be-*  
*cause that evil lust can hurt no*  
*man if he do not permit, he*  
*saith, There is no power but*  
*of God. Whereupon God made*  
*man, standing before a man,*  
*said, Thou couldst have no*  
*power against me, except it*  
*were given thee from above.*  
*The one did judge, the other*  
*did teach. When he was jud-*  
*ged he did teach: that he might*  
*judge those whom he did teach.*

*|| Cupiditatem nocendi potest*  
*homo habere propriam: pote-*  
*statem autem, si ille non dat,*  
*non habet. Non est enim po-*  
*testas nisi à Deo: definita*  
*sententia Apostoli est. Non*  
*dixit, non est cupiditas nisi*  
*à Deo; est enim mala cupidi-*  
*tas, qua non est à Deo: sed*  
*quia ipsa mala cupiditas nul-*  
*li nocet, si ille non permittat,*  
*Non est, inquit, potestas*  
*nisi à Deo. Unde Deus ho-*  
*mo stans ante hominem, Non*  
*haberes, inquit, in me po-*  
*testatem, nisi data fuisset ti-*  
*bi desuper. Iste judicabat,*  
*ille docebat. Cum judica-*  
*batur docebat, ut judicaret*  
*quos docuerat. Non ha-*  
*beres, inquit, in me po-*  
*testatem, nisi esset data ti-*  
*bi desuper. Quid est hoc?*  
*Homo tantum non habet po-*  
*testatem, nisi cum acceperit*  
*desuper? Quid ipse Diabolus?*  
*Ausus est vel unam ovisculam*  
*tollere viro sancto Job, nisi*  
*prius diceret, Mitte manum*

Thou

*tuam, hoc est, da potestatem?*  
*Ille volebat, sed ille non sine-*  
*bat. Quando ille permisit, il-*  
*le potuit. Non ergo ille potuit,*  
*sed qui permisit. August. in*  
*Psal. 32, Conc. 2.*

Thou couldst have no power, saith he, against me, except it were given thee from above, What is this? Hath a man onely no power, unless he receive it from above? What hath the Devil himself? Durst he take away so much as one Sheep from the holy man Job, before he had first said, Put forth thine hand, that is, give me power? He had a will to do it, but God did not suffer him. When he did suffer him, the other was able to do it. It is not he therefore that was able, but he that permitted him: even God, \* from whom are all powers; howsoever all mens wills are not from him.

\* A quo sunt omnes potestates, quamvis ab illo non sint omnium voluntates.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 8.

To the same purpose the same Father writeth very excellently in another place, † Not whatsoever we do suffer from our enemies, is to be imputed to our enemies, and not to our Lord God: Forasmuch as our Mediatour even in his own example hath demonstrated unto us that, when he from above doth permit men to hurt us, not the will but the power of hurting is given from above.

† Non quicquid passi ab inimicis fuerimus, hoc inimicis deputandum est, & non Domino Deo nostro. Quandoquidem in ipso suo exemplo Mediator demonstravit, quando nobis desuper permittit homines nocere, non voluntatem nocendi desuper dari, sed potestatem. unusquisque enim malus apud se habet voluntatem nocendi: ut autem possit nocere, non habet in potestate. Ut velit,

above. For every evil man hath in himself a will to hurt : but to have ability to hurt, he hath not in his power. In that he hath the will he is already guilty ; but that he should have the ability, it is permitted by the hidden dispensation of Gods providence, toward some for punishment, toward some for trial, toward some for the obtaining a crown. For punishment : as the Philistins were permitted to subdue the people of Israel, because they had sinned against God. For trial, the Devil was permitted to assault Job : but Job was tried, the Devil confounded. For the winning of the crown, the Persecutors were let loose against the Martyrs. The Martyrs were slain, the Persecutors thought they had gotten the day : these did falsely triumph in publick, the other were truly crowned in secret. Therefore, that he is permitted to

jam reus est : ut possit, occultæ dispensatione providentiæ Divinæ, in alium permittitur ad penam, in alium permittitur ad probationem, in alium permittitur ad coronam. Ad penam : quomodo permitti sunt ad diabolum, id est, alienigenæ, capere populum Israel, quia peccaverunt in Deum. Ad probationem autem permittus est Diabolus in Job : probatus est autem Job, confusus est Diabolus. Ad coronam vero permitti sunt persecutores in Martyres. Occisi sunt Martyres ; quasi vicisse se arbitrati sunt persecutores : illi in manifesto falso triumphaverunt, illi in occulto vere coronati sunt. Ergo in quem permittitur, occultæ dispensationis est providentiæ Dei ; ut autem velit nocere ipsius hominibus est : non enim continuo quem vult occidit. Itaque ipse Dominus, iudex vivorum & mortuorum, stans ante hominem iudicem (præbens nobis humilitatis exemplum & patientiæ documentum ; non villus, sed militibus pugnandi exemplum demonstrans) minanti iudici, tumenti superbia & discenti, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittendi & occidendi te ? abstulit tybium inflantis, & tanquam reddens exufflationem qua detumesceret,

Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi data tibi esset desuper. Aug. Præf. in enar. 2. Psal. 29. Vide etiam eund. ad Simplic. l. 2. quæst. 1. (cum Retractat. l. 2, c. 1.)

deal

deal against any, proceedeth from the hidden dispensation of Gods providence; but that he hath a will to hurt, cometh from the man himself: for he cannot kill presently whomsoever he willet. Whereupon the Lord himself, the Judge of the quick and the dead, standing before a man that was his Judge (delivering therein unto us an example of humility, and a document of patience; not being himself overcome, but shewing unto his Souldiers a pattern of fighting) from that Judge threatening and swelling with pride (and saying, Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and to kill thee?) took away the tumour which blew him up, and giving it a puff as it were to make it grow down, Thou couldst, said he, have no power against me, except it were given thee from above.

Hereunto we may add likewise that

*\* Quod Princeps potest, ita à Deo est ut potestas à Domino non recedat: sed ea utitur per suppositam manum; in omnibus doctrinam faciens clementie aut justitie sue. Qui ergo resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit, penes quem est auctoritas conferendi eam, & cum vult, auferendi & minuendi eam. Ne-*

place of *Johannes Sarisburiensis*, \* That which the Prince hath ability to do, is so from God, that the power doth not depart from the Lord: but he useth it by an under-posed hand, shewing in all things a document either of his mercy or of his justice. Whosoever there-  
fore

fore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, who hath the authority of conferring it, and, when he pleaseth, of taking away or diminishing it. For it is not in the power of a great man to exercise cruelty upon those that are under his Government, when he listeth; but it is of Gods own dispensation, to punish or exercise the Subjects according to his good pleasure. Out of all which we may learn, that not onely the ability which Princes have of doing every particular thing in their Government, but also the ordering the ends thereof, either to the good or evil of the party to whom it is done, dependeth altogether upon the pleasure of God, who oftentimes bringeth light out of darkness, and disposeth of events to far other purposes than we at first would have conceived them to tend unto. Which the very Heathen did partly take notice of, who said, \* The condition of mortal men hath these kinds of vicissitudes, that adverse things do arise out of prosperous, and prosperous out of adverse. God doth hide the seeds of both; and the causes

*que enim potentia est, cum vult, servire in subditos; sed Divina dispensationis, pro beneplacito suo punire vel exercere subditos. Joh. Sarisburiens. Polycr. l. 4. c. 1.*

*\* Habet has vices conditio mortalium, ut adversa ex secundis, ex adversis secunda nascentur. Occultat utrorumque semina Deus; & plerumque bonorum malorumque causa sub diversa specie latent, Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.*

of

of our good and evil accidents do oftentimes lurk under a far different shew.

\* 2 Pet. 2.9.

The Lord knoweth, saith \* S. Peter, how to deliver the godly out of temptations; and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished. And although

† Jam. 1. 20.

† the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God: yet doth God so order the matter, that || the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath shall be restrained by him. Whereupon S. Augustine when he had declared,

|| Psal. 76. 10.

\* Etiam nocentium potestas non est nisi à Deo: sicut scriptum est, loquente Sapientia, Per me Reges regnant, & tyranni per me tenent terram, &c. Injustum enim non est ut improbis accipientibus nocendi potestatem, & bonorum patientia probetur, & malorum iniquitas puniatur. Aug. lib. de Natura Boni, adversus Manich. c. 32.

† Imperatores quando pro falsitate contra veritatem constituunt malas leges, probantur bene credentes, & coronantur perseverantes. Id. Epist. 50. Imperatores si in errore essent, pro errore suo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas iusti & probarentur & coronarentur, non faciendo quod illi iuberent quia Deum prohiberet. Id. Epist. 166.

|| Terror temporalium potesta-

that \* the power even of hurtful Kings is from none but God; for the justifying of his proceeding therein he addeth, that it is not unjust that naughty men receiving power to hurt, both the patience of the good should be tried, and the iniquity of the wicked Persecutors should be punished. For, as he elsewhere also noteth, † When Emperours do make evil Laws for falsehood and against the truth; the right Believers are tried, and such as persevere are crowned: and again, || The terror of the temporal powers, when it doth oppose

oppose the truth, is to the Just and Strong a glorious trial, but to the Weak a dangerous temptation: but when it proposeth the truth to such as err, and are at discord, to men of understanding it proveth a profitable admonition, and to such as are not sensible thereof an unprofitable affliction. And yet there is no power but of God; and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; for Rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For whether the Power, favouring the truth, doth correct any man, he that is amended hath praise thereby; or being enemy to the truth, doth use cruelty against any, he that receiveth the crown for obtaining the victory hath praise for the same. And therefore saith he, \* If thy Governour be good, he is thy Honour

R

tum, quando veritatem oppugnat; justis fortibus gloriosa probatio est, infirmis periculosa tentatio: quando autem veritatem prædicat errantibus & discordantibus; cordatis utilis admonitio est, & insensatis inutilis afflictio. Non est tamen potestas nisi à Deo: qui autem resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit: Principes enim non sunt timori bono operi, sed malo. Vjs autem non timere potestatem? bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa. Sive enim potestas veritati favens aliquem corrigat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit emendatus; sive inimica veritati in aliquem seviet, laudem habet ex illa qui victor fuerit coronatus. Id Epist. 48. Non ait, Bonum fac, & laudabit te potestas, sed ait, Bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa, vel cum eam in obsequium Dei lucratus fueris, vel cum eius persecutione coronam merueris. Id. in exposit. quarund. proposit. ex Epist. ad Rom.

\* Bonus si fuerit qui tibi præest, nutritor tuus est: malus si fuerit, tentator tuus est. Et nutrimenta libenter accipe, & in tentatione approbare. Esto aurum; attinge mundum istum tanquam forispher:

*nactem artificis. In uno angusto loco tria sunt; aurum, palea, ignis. Ad illa duo ignis apponitur: palea uritur, aurum purgatur. Id. de verbis Domini, Serm.6.*

*riser: if he be evil, he is thy Tempter. Receive thy non-risment willingly, and approve thyself in temptation. Be thou gold: consider this world as*

- *the Furnace of the Workman. In one narrow place there are three things; Gold, Chaff, and Fire. The Fire is put unto the other two: the Chaff is burned, the Gold is purged. To which kind of*
- \* 1 Pet.4.12. \* *fiery trial those passages of Scripture are to be referred, When he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold. (Job 23. 10.)* That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that periseth, though it be tried with fire, might be so found unto praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. (1 Pet.1.7.) Many shall be purified and made white and tried. (Dan. 12.10.) Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. (James 1.12.)

To draw then to a conclusion of this

† *Aut iuste agis, & iusta potestas laudabit te: aut iuste agentem, etiamsi potestas iniusta damnet te, Deus iustus cononabit te: Prim.in Rom. 13.*

point, † *Either thou dost justly, & the just power will praise thee; or thus doing justly, although the unjust power should condemn*



*denn thee, the just God will crown thee, is the saying of Primasius. And,*

*\* If the King doth punish thee when thou art nocent. give place to Justice; if when thou art innocent, give place to Fortune,*

*was of old the advice of sage Seneca.*

*Now if a Heathen could bring his mind to such a temper, by yielding unto his blind Fortune; how much more should a Christian arm himself with patience, by giving way to the All-seeing Providence of our most wise God? who so*

*† worketh all things after the counsel of his † Ephes. i. ii. own will, that he causeth all things to*

*work, not onely severally, but also*

*|| jointly, for good to them that love him: || Πάσα σκω-*

*making their temporal evil an occasion 2576 eis αγα-*

*of their eternal good: according to that 267. Rom. 8. 28*

*of S. Augustine, \* Princes are*

*to be suffered by their People,*

*and Masters by their Servants:*

*that in the exercise of their pa-*

*tience temporal things may be*

*born, and eternal hoped for by*

*them. Whereof his Scholar Prosper*

*maketh this Paraphrase in his Epi-*

*grams,*

*\* Rex est? si nocentem punit, cede justitiae; si innocentem, cede fortunae. Senec. de Ira; l. 2. c. 30.*

*\* Ita & à plebibus Principes, & à servis Domini sunt servandi, ut sub exercitatione tolerantiae sustineantur temporalia, & sperentur aeterna. Prosp. sentent. 34. ex Aug.*

*The Obedience of the Subject.*

*Reddendum est quicquid mundi bene*  
*(postulat ordo,*

*Propositumque piæ non violat fidei.*  
*Mitibus & sanctis nulla est spernenda*  
*(potestas:*

*Æquum servire est Regibus & Do-*  
*(minis.*

*Ut Christi famulis ad verum prosit ho-*  
*(norem,*

*Dilexisse bonos, & tolerasse malos.*

And so much both of the *Active* obedience, which in all things that may be done, we are bound to perform unto our Sovereigns; and of the *Passive*, which, in other cases, with all Christian fortitude we are tied to undergo, without the least carnal thought either of resisting their Authority, or conspiring against their Person, State, or Dignity.

---

IT followeth that we should here also  
say somewhat touching the Oath

\* of God: than which † no  
bound hath been esteemed so  
strait to bind mens Faith, as  
in all other matters, so espe-  
cially in this particular of  
|| Fidelity and Obedience to  
be performed by Subjects un-  
to their Princes. Wherein a  
double kind of Oath may be  
taken into consideration;  
the one *Tacite*, the other *Ex-  
press*. For as in Matrimony  
the .covenant made between  
Man and Wife is in the Scri-  
pture stiled \* *the Covenant of  
God*; because thereby they  
have not onely impledged  
themselves the one into the  
other upon Earth, but also to  
God in Heaven, who is both  
a witness of that contract, and  
a severe revenger of the  
breach thereof: so this being  
† *the general Covenant of hu-*

\* *Ὁρκὸς δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐμπύ-  
σας θεῶν. Greg Nazianz. in  
ὁρίσιν five definit. rerum  
simplicib.*

† *Ὁρκὸς δὲ ὁ μὴ θεῶν κα-  
τὰ τὴν ἑξῆς φωνὴν ἀνατί-  
θενται. Aristot. Rhetor.  
ad Alexand.c.18.*

† *Nullum vinculum ad strin-  
gendam fidem iurejurando  
maiores arctius esse volu-  
runt. Id indicant leges in  
XII. tabul. indicant sacra,  
indicant sœdera quibus etiam  
cum hoste devincitur fides;  
indicant notiones animadver-  
sionesque censorum, qui nū-  
de re diligentius quam de  
iurejurando iudicabant. Ci-  
cer. Offic. l. 3.*

|| *Non ignarus aliquin, ne-  
mini religiosius quod iurave-  
rit custodiendum, quam cuius  
maxime interest non pejerari.  
Plin. de Trajano in Panc-  
gyrico suo. Ad quem Lip-  
sius. Nam Principum status  
& salus iuramento nitebatur,  
quod quotannis, ipsis Kalen-  
dis Januariis, Senatus præ-*

stabat. .: Malach. 2. 14.

\* Prov. 2. 17.

† Generale pactum est Societatis  
humane, obedire Regibus suis.  
Aug 1. 3. Conf. c. 8.

mane society (as S. Augustine  
speaketh) to obey our Kings;  
God sheweth himself to be  
so far interess'd therein, as if  
an attestation had been in-

terposed of his own glorious and fear-  
ful name. Upon which ground *Solo-*  
*mon* doth counsel, or rather charge us  
(for the principal Verb is wanting in  
the Original; as if no word could be  
found significant enough to express the  
deepness of the charge) to keep the Kings  
commandment, and that in regard of the  
Oath of God: the very being in the  
condition of a Subject, carrying with it  
by implication a kind of a silent Oath  
of Fidelity and due Obedience.

But Princes for their better security,  
beside this tacite and implicate, thought  
fit their Subjects should be further  
charged with express and direct forms  
of Oaths. Examples whereof we have;  
one, that which the † Emperour *Justi-*  
*nian* required of those who bore office

under him; another, .: taken  
by the Subjects of *Charles*  
the Great; divers \* required  
both of the Clergy and the  
Laity, by *Carolus Calvus*; † the  
Oath of Fidelity made unto

Fre-

Eccl. 8. 2.

† Justin. Nov.  
9. tit. 3.

.: Marculp. Formul. à Frid.  
Lindenbrogio ed. num. 40.

\* Capitul. Caroli Calv. c. 13,  
22, & 38. (p. 117, 165, &  
287. edit. Paris. an. 1623.

† De pace Constant (in fine  
corporis juris Civilis.)

*Frederick Barbarossa* and King *Henry* his Son by the Cities of *Lombardy*, *Marchia* and *Romandiola* : and with us not only the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Alliance* ordained by latter Statutes; but also \* the Oath of *Ligeance*;

which every Subject above the age of 12 years is tied to take in the Tourn or Leet, by the ancient Common Law.

\* Coke 7. Report. fol. 6, & 7. in *Calvins Case*, and in his Institutes, Sect. 94. & 259.

The violation of which sacred bonds how hainously God doth take, even as a despising of his own Oath, and a breaking of his own Covenant, these terrible threats of his against *Zedekiah*, that † rebelled against King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had made him swear by God, do sufficiently demonstrate. || Behold, the King of *Babylon* is come to *Jerusalem*, and hath taken the King thereof, and the Princes, and led them with him to *Babylon*. And hath taken of the Kings seed, and made a Covenant with him, and hath taken an oath of him : he hath also taken the mighty of the Land. That the Kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his Covenant it might stand. But he rebelled against him, in sending his Ambassadors into *Egypt*, that they might give him horses and

† 2 Chron. 35.

13.

|| Ezek. 17. 12,

13, &c.

## The Obedience of the Subject.

much People. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doth such things? or shall he break the Covenant and be delivered? As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the King dwelleth that made him King., whose Oath he despised, and whose Covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die. Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty Army and great company make for him in the way by casting up Mounts, and building Forts, to cut off many persons. Seeing he despised the Oath, by breaking the Covenant (when, loe, he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely **MINE** Oath that he hath despised, and **MY** Covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head. And I will spread my Net upon him, and he shall be taken in my Snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespass that he hath trespassed against **ME**. And all his fugitives with all his bands shall fall by the Sword, and they that remain shall be scattered towards all winds: and ye shall know that I the Lord have spoken it.

And the sentence is very solemn  
which

which *Isidore*, that famous Archbishop of *Sevil*, with threescore and ten other Bishops assembled in the IV. Council of *Toledo*, did pronounce against such rebellious persons as made no conscience of the performance of that Oath of Fidelity which they had taken for the preservation of the safety of their King and Country; \* *Whosoever of*

*us, or of the People throughout all Spain, shall from henceforward, by any kind of conspiracy or practice, violate the Oath of Fidelity which he hath taken for the safeguard of the Country and Gothish Nation, or the preservation of the Kings Majesty, or shall attempt the Kings death, or deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, or by tyrannical presumption usurp the Regal Throne; let him (say they in the first place) be accursed before God the FATHER and the Angels, be cast out of the Catholick Church which by his perjury he hath profaned, and excommunicated from the company of all Christian men, together with all the complices of his impiety: it*

\* *Quicumque amodo ex nobis, vel totius Hispanie populis, qualibet conjunctione vel studio, sacramentum fidei sue quod pro patris gentisque Gothorum statu, vel conservatione Regie salutis (vel incolumitate Regie potestatis) pollicitus est, temeraverit, aut Regem nece attrectaverit, aut potestate regni exuerit, aut presumptione tyrannica regni fastigium usurpaverit, anathema in conspectu Dei Patris & Angelorum, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni cœtu Christianorum alienus, cum omnibus impietatis sue sociis: quia oportet ut una pena teneat obnoxios, quos similiter inveniunt implicatos. Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.*

being

being fit that they should be liable to the same penalty, who are found involved in the error of the like conspiracy. And (in

\* *Anathema in conspectu Christi & Apostolorum ejus sit, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni consortio Christianorum alienus, & damnatus in futuro Dei judicio habeatur, cum participibus suis: quia dignum est ut qui talibus sociantur, ipsi etiam damnationis eorum participatione obnoxii teneantur.* Concil. Tolet. IV. cap. ult.

† *Anathema sit in conspectu Spiritus Sancti & Martyrum Christi, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni communione Christianorum alienus: neque partem habeat iustorum, sed cum Diabolo & angelis ejus æternis suppliciis condemnatur, una cum iis qui eadem conjuratione nituntur; ut per pœnam perditionis constringat, quos in perniciem prava societas copulat.* Concil. Tolet. IV. cap. ult.

the second place) \* let him be accursed before CHRIST and his Apostles, be cast out of the Catholick Church, &c. and be damned in Gods future judgment, together with his partakers: it being just that they who are associated to such should likewise be held obnoxious to the participation of their condemnation. And (the third time also) † Let him be accursed before the HOLY GHOST and the Martyrs of Christ, be cast out of the Catholick Church, &c. and let him have no portion with the just, but be condemned to eternal punishments with the Devil and his Angels, together with those that are combined in the same conspiracy: that they may be tied in the same penalty of perdition, who were joined in the same wicked society of sedition. Which sentence of the Bishops, three times thus denounced, In the Name of the Father, and



and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, was seconded by this general acclamation of the whole Clergy and People that were present, \* *Whosoever shall presume against this definition of yours, let them be Anathema Maranatha, that is, accursed unto the coming of our Lord; and let them have their part with Judas Iscariot, both they and their associates.*

This † provision for the safety and behoof of Princes was confirmed likewise in the V. Council of Toledo; and this Canon enacted therein for the time to come, || *In regard of the facility of evil-affected minds, and the forgetfulness of memory, this holy Synod hath ordained, that in every Council of the Bishops of Spain, the Decree of the National Council which was made for the safety of our Princes, after all things are finished in the Synod, should with a publick voice be pronounced: that being often represented unto mens ears, even by this very*

\* *Ab universo Clero & Populo dictum est, Qui contra hanc vestram definitionem presumpserint, Anathema Maranatha, hoc est, perditio in adventum Domini sint; & cum Juda Iscarioth partem habeant, & ipsi & socii eorum. Amen. Ibid.*

† *Hæc nostri Concilii communiter considerata defertur sententia; ut servetis quacunque in universali & magna Synodo provisæ conscriptæque circa Principum salutem & utilitatem sunt. Ib. V. cap. 2.*

|| *Propter malarum mentium facilitatem & memoriæ oblivionem, hoc sacratissima statuit Synodus; ut in omni concilio Episcoporum Hispaniæ, universalis Concilii decretum quod propter Principum nostrorum est salutem constitutum, peractis omnibus in Synodo, publica voce debeat pronunciari: quatenus sæpe replicatum auribus, vel assiduitate iniquorum mens terribili corrigatur, quæ ad prævaricandum & oblivione & facilitate perducitur. Concil. Tolet. V. c. 7.*

assiduity

*assiduity the mind of evil men being terrified may be corrected, which by their forgetfulness and facility would otherwise be drawn to disloyalty.* Whereunto in the X. Council of Toledo, this Canon also was afterwards added, for the deposition of such of the Clergy as should violate those Oaths that were generally taken for the preservation of the

safety of the King and Country.

\* Cum & quorundam patrum sanctionibus decretorum & institutionibus sit legalibus cautum, ne contra salutem Principum gentisque ant patrie quisquam meditari conetur adversum: hoc unum specialiter nunc depromitur observandum, ut si quis Religiosorum, ab Episcopo usque ad extremum ordinis Clericorum five Monachorum, generalia juramenta in salutem Regiam gentisque ant patrie data repertiatur violasse voluntate profana, mox propria dignitate privatus, & loco & honore habeatur exclusus; eo miserationis obtentu tantummodo reservato, ut an locum, an honorem, an utraque possideat, concedendi jus licentiamque principalis potestas obtineat: Concil. Tolet. X. cap. 2.

\* Whereas both by the sanctions of certain decrees of the Fathers, and by Legal Constitutions it hath been provided, that none should attempt to devise any thing contrary to the safety of our Prince, Nation, or Countrey; this one thing is now added especially to be observed, that if any Religious person, from the Bishop unto the meanest of the Clerical or Monastical Order, shall be found with a profane intentment, to have violated those general Oaths that have been taken for the safety of the King, Nation, or Country, he

shall be presently deprived of his dignity, and be excluded both from his place and honour;

honour; this hope of mercy being onely reserved, that it shall be left in the power of the Prince, whether he shall repofsess either his place or his honour, or both of them. Thus far the Fathers of Toledo.

The first we find that stiffly stood against the taking of these general Oaths of Fidelity, were the Pharisees, who being of \* the strictest Sect of the Jewish Religion, did indeed † outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within were full of hypocrisie and iniquity. Yet by this outward shew of Religion they gained such a reputation with the People, that || they were able by that means to do much hurt unto those that hated them, and to give great furtherance unto such as stood friendly affected toward them; being strongly believed by the multitude, even when for meer envy they did speak hardly of any man: so far, that ∴ if they did did speak any thing against the King himself or against the High Priest, they were presently believed. Of them thus writeth Josephus, \* These were called Pharisees, such as were able openly to pra-

\* Act. 26. 5.  
† Mat. 23. 27,  
28. with Luke 12. 1.

|| Διωκόμενοι ὅτι πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῷ τῷ ἱεροσολύμοις τε μισοῦντας, καὶ οἷον διακεκομμένους ὡς ἔφησεν μαλιστα ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ ῥητορῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν λαόν. Alexander Rex, apud. Joseph. lib. 13. Antiq. cap. 23. vide & cap. seq. & lib. 18. c. 2.

∴ Τὸ αὐτὸν ἔχοντες ὅτι ἱερὸν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, καὶ κατὰ ἀρχιερέων, ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοῖς.

\* Φαρισαῖοι καλεῖν, βασιλεῖσι διωκόμενοι μαλιστα ἀντιπαρῆσαν, ὑπερηφανοὺς, καὶ

Et se

οὐ πρότερον εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν  
 ἢ καὶ βλάπτεν ἐπαρμόδιοι.  
 Πάντες ἔν τῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ βίβλαι-  
 ώσαντο δι' ὅρων ἢ μὲν ἐν-  
 νοήσαν Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασι-  
 λέως πράγματι, οἱ δὲ οἱ ἄν-  
 δρες ἐκ ὧμοῦ, ὄντως ἕως  
 ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὺς βα-  
 σιλέως (ἡμιώσαν) ὁ χρημα-  
 σις ἢ Φερώρε γυνὴ καὶ (ἡμιώ-  
 σαν) αὐτῇ εἰσφέρει, &c.  
 Joseph. l. 7. c. 3.

rise against Kings; being  
 very subtle, and presuming by  
 their motions to raise War a-  
 gainst them, and to annoy them.  
 Whereas therefore all the Jews  
 had by Oaths obliged their fi-  
 delity to Cæsar Augustus, and  
 to the estate of King Herod,  
 these men would not swear at  
 all, being above six thousand in  
 number. Whereupon the King having  
 imposed a fine upon them, the Wife of  
 Pheroras (Herods brother) paid it for  
 them. For which cause they intending to  
 requite her kindness, and being esteemed  
 by their intercourse with God to have ob-  
 tained the knowledge of things to come,  
 foretold her that God had determined to  
 bring the Government of Herod and his  
 posterity to an end, and that the King-  
 dom should be transferred to her and Phe-  
 roras and the children begotten of them  
 both. But Herod, having discovered  
 the conspiracy of these false Prophets,  
 put the principal contrivers thereof un-  
 to death, and all those of his household  
 Servants that were of their Faction.

\* Act. 7. 37.

Not long after these \* rose up Judas  
 of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and  
 drew away much People after him; but  
 with

with the like success: for he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed; as is related by Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles.

\* This Judas, with Sadduc the Pharisee his associate, solicited the People to rebellion; alledging that the Taxing brought with it a plain confession of their servitude, and exhorting them to maintain their liberty: and brought in a new Sect among the Jews; the followers whereof did † in all other things agree with the opinions of the Pharisees, but had a most constant love of liberty, accounting God alone to be their Prince and Lord. In-  
somuch that they make little account of undergoing exquisite kinds of deaths, or of the punishments of their Kinsfolks and Friends, rather than they would call any man their

Lord. Whereas, on the other side, the Essenes would admit none to any near communion with their Sect, before he had first bound himself by a solemn Oath, || ever to keep his Faith unto all,

ἵνα δὲ πᾶσι τὸ ἄρχειν. Joseph. lib. 2 Bell. Jud. cap. 12. (al. 17.)

but

\* Σαδδύκων Φαρισαῖον  
ἐπεσλαμβάνοντο, ἡπει-  
χτο δὲ ὑποτάσει· τίμω †  
ἀποτήμωσιν ἕδιν ἄλλο ἢ ἀν-  
τικρὺς βασιλεῖα ὁποίειεν λέ-  
γοντες, καὶ † ἐλευθερίας ἐπὶ  
ἀντιλήψει ἐξουσιάζοντες τὸ  
ἔσθαι. Joseph. l. 18. Antiq.  
cap. 1.

† Τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμα  
ἥν Φαρισαῖον ὁσολογῶσι,  
δυσκίνητον ἔστι τὰ ἐλευθερί-  
ῃς ἔσθιν αὐτοῖς, μόνον ἡ-  
γεμόνα καὶ δικαστὴν † Θεὸν  
ὑπεκλήροσι· θανάτων † ἐ-  
λευθερίας ὑποκρίνεν περιπαλ-  
μίας ἐν ἐλίγῳ τῷδε, καὶ  
συζητῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων,  
ὑπὲρ τὸ μηδένα ἀνδραπῶν  
ἐπεσπυροῦσθαι δικαστόν. Id.  
l. 18. c. 2.

|| Τὰ πρὸν αὐτῷ  
παρῆξεν πᾶσι,  
μάλιστα ἔστι τοῖς  
κρατύνουσιν, καὶ ὅτι  
διὰ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ

but especially unto Princes; considering that no man doth attain to that power without Gods own appointment. And the People of the Jews generally had been so far this way instructed out of Gods Word, that when *Sejanus* intended his

conspiracy against *Tiberius*, he first \*endeavoured to remove this Nation out of the way: which he knew would either alone or most of all oppose his ungodly counsels and practices, for the endangering the life of the Emperour. Where-

upon commandment was given by *Tiberius* afterwards unto all the Presidents of the Provinces, that they should

† take into their protection, both the men themselves as persons of a peaceable disposition, and their Laws likewise as things much tending to the settlement of publick tranquillity.

So, upon his death, the People of the Jews with the first took their || their oath of fidelity to his Successor *Caius*; and offered ∴ solemn Sacrifices at the Temple of Jerusalem for his safety. Who are there-

\* Σηϊανὸς τὸ ἔδωκε ἀναρπάσαι τὴν ἑλπίδα, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν μόνον ἡ μάστιξ ἡ δὲ βελὼν ἀγοσίοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀντισησέμενον, ὑπὸ τῶν ὁδοπονηδωμένων κινδυνώσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο. Philo, in leg. ad Caium.

† Παρὰ τὸν ἀρχὴν ἔχον τὴν ἀνδραὶ ὡς εἰρηνικὸς τὰς φύσεις, καὶ τὰ νομικά ὡς αἰετοφροντα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν. Ibid.

|| Ὁρκεῖται ὁ πλῆθὺς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίᾳ. Joseph. Ant. l. 18. c. 7. de Vitellio Syriae Praefide, Hierosolymis cum agente.

∴ Πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ τὰς ὑμῶν ὁ ἀρ-

therefore represented by K. Agrippa to Caius himself as a Nation \* from the beginning most religiously and piously affected toward his Family. For in what things they may, saith he, and are permitted to do by the Laws of their Religion, they come noways short of any People either of Asia or Europe, in Prayers, Erection of Donaries, and multitude of Sacrifices, not onely in their publick celebrities, but also in their daily devotions. Whereby they do declare this pious respect of theirs, not so much with their mouth and tongue as with the willingness of their inward soul: not saying that they are the Friends of Cæsar, but being so in truth and in deed. Thus

Agrippa wrote unto Caius, being incensed against the Jews for not giving way to the dedicating his Statue in their Temple, with the title which he had assumed unto himself of NEW JUPITER. In the carriage of which unhappy business, it will not be amiss to consider that notable example of

S

Paf-

χῆς Γαίης θυοίας. Philo, Iegar. ad Caium.

Εὐδοκίμῳ, καὶ ἐκατόμυλλας ἐδύσαμιν, ὧν τὸ αἷμα πᾶν βαμῶν σπυλαίνουσιν πᾶν κρία ἕκεις θυόντων καὶ εὐχαρίαν οἰκαδε ἑκομίσασιν (ὡς ἐβθ' ἐνίοις ποιῶν) ἀλλ' ὁλόκαυστα τὰ ἱερῆα ὄψιν δένεις τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί. Ibid.

\* Εὐσεβεία καὶ ὑπόστασις διακεκμηρον ἵε' ἀρχῆς σφίς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν οἰκον. Ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐρεῖ καὶ ἐξέστ' ὑμῶν εὐπεθεῖν, ὑδενδς ἐπερ' Ἀσπανῶν ἕτε' ἢ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ λήπει τὸ ὄψιν, οὐχ αἷς, ἀναδιδματων κατὰ σιδαις, πλῆθει θυσιῶν, ἐμῶν ἐν τῇ καὶ τὰς θυσιῶν λεί: ἐρετὰς ἀναγεμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἡμῶν ἐπελεχέον. ἵε' ὧν οὐ σφίμασι καὶ γλῶσσ' ὑμῶν σι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάλλον ἢ τῆς ἀφ᾽ αὐτῶν βελδύμασιν, οἱ καὶ λήροντες ὅτι φιλοχρίστους εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐτως. Ibid.

Passive obedience shewed at that time by this People.

The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and all the rest of the Countrey no sooner had notice of these woful tidings, but presently as one man, leaving their Towns, and Castles, and Houses, they presented themselves in *Phœnicia* before *Petrinus* the President of *Syria*; unto whom *Caius* had committed the execution of this wicked command of his. Where the old men, young Folks and Boys distributed into three ranks, and the old Women, younger Women and Virgins, divided into three other, at one instant fell down unto the ground before the President, with a lamentable kind of howling. Being commanded to arise and to draw nearer, with much ado they did so; and being covered with dust, and beblubbered with tears, came with both their hands drawn behind their backs after the manner of condemned persons, causing their mind to be delivered by their Spokesmen to this effect,

ἡμεῖς ἄσπληστοι ὡς ὁρᾷς,  
καὶ ἀβρομῶντες ὅτι αἰπῶνταί  
τινὲς ὡς πλεμῖνες· ἀλλ' ὅτι φύ-  
σις ἐχέτω πρὸς τὸν κυρίον ἀμω-  
πύχια μέν τι χεῖρας, ἀπὸς ἐφ-  
φάρμῳ, ἐν δὲ μὴδὲν ἐργά-

\* *We are unarmed, as thou seest; though some did give out that we were come in an hostile manner. And our hands, the members which Nature hath given unto*



unto every man for his defence, we have put behind us, that they are able to do nothing: presenting our own bodies as a fair mark to be shot at, to those that have a mind to kill us. Our Wives and our Children, and our Families we have brought unto thee, and by thee do prostrate our selves before Caius; having left none at home, to the end that you might either save us all, or cut us off all by a common destruction. We hear that Foot and Horse Forces are prepared against us, if we give impediment to this Dedication. There is none so mad, that being a Servant he would oppose himself against his Master. We are ready to undergo our slaughter most willingly. Let them kill us, sacrifice us, cut us in pieces without fight or any loss of the least drop of their own blood, let them put in execution whatsoever Conquerors use to do. This shall be our last Will, when we are dying; that neither God himself may find fault with us for having a respect to both these, the reverence we owe unto

αὐτοῦ, διὸ αὐτῷ, παρίσταντες  
αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα ὥστε ἐν-  
σώπως τοῖς θείοις ἀπο-  
κτείναι βολάς. Γυναῖκες καὶ  
τέκνα καὶ οἰκίαις ἐπαγαγόμεθα  
σοι, καὶ ὅλα σὺ κατασφύρι-  
σαι, μὴδὲν αἰσίου καταλι-  
πόμεναι, ἵνα ἢ σφαιρώσῃς πάν-  
τας ἢ πάντας περισφύρις. Δι-  
αδοθήσῃς, &c. Παιδανό-  
μιθα πικρὰς καὶ ἰσχυρὰς δυνά-  
μεις ὑποτρέπεις καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰ  
ὥστε ἢ ἀνὰ δόξαν ἀντιβαι-  
νόντων ἢ δόξας ἔτι μὴ μνησθῆναι, ὡς  
δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐναντιῶν δυνά-  
τεω. Παρίστανον ἐν ἐπιμω-  
ρὰς σφαγὰς αἰσχροὶ κτε-  
νέτω, ἰσχυροί, κτενο-  
μεινέτω, αἰμαχὲ καὶ ἀναιμα-  
χί· πάντα ὅσα κατεστικτότων  
ἔργα δυνάτω, &c. Ἀποδο-  
νόντων τὸ ἐπιτάγμα μνη-  
σθῶν· μὴ μνησθῶν ἂν ἐνὶ Θεοῦ  
ἡμῶν ἀμφοτέρων σφαγόμε-  
νους, καὶ ὥστε ἢ αὐτοκαταπο-  
ρεύσασθαι, καὶ ὥστε τοῦ  
κατασφύριστος νόμου ἀποδο-  
χῆς. Ibid.

our Prince, and the observance due unto our most sacred Law.

*Petronius*, at that time being not able to prevail with them, removed from *Ptolemais* to *Tiberias* in *Galilee*; where fifty days together were spent in the treaty of this matter: the Jews the meanwhile neglecting their seed-time, and

\* crying out, that before their

Law should be violated, they were ready to suffer any thing.

To whom *Petronius*, Are you then minded to fight against

*Cæsar*? Their answer was,

that twice every day they did offer sacrifice for *Cæsar* and the

People of *Rome*: but if he would needs erect those images,

he must first offer the whole Nation of the Jews for a sacri-

fice; they being ready to present themselves to the slaughter,

together with their Wives and Children.

With which carriage of theirs the President was so moved, that he staid the

execution of the business: wherewith the Emperour was so highly offended,

that he threatned death unto him, for being so slow in the performance of his

commandments. But seven and twenti-

\* Περὶ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος  
πάν ἐβόα, ὅτι τὸ νόμον πα-  
θεῖν ἐτοιμὸς ἔχουσιν. κατὰ τὴν  
ἐξουσίαν ὃ ὁ Περωνίου αὐτοῦ  
βόλῃ, Πολεμήσετε, εἰπὼν,  
ἀλλὰ Καίσαρι; καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι,  
Περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δυνά-  
μεων τῶν Ῥωμαίων δις τὴν ἡμέραν  
θύειν ἔφαζεν· εἰ δὲ βύλας τὰς  
εἰκόνας ἐγχαλιδύουσι, ὅτι  
τις αὐτὸν δεῖν ἅπαν τὸ Ἰου-  
δαίων ἔδωκεν προσδύσαδαι·  
παρέχει δὲ σφὰς αὐτοῦ ἐτοι-  
μὸς εἰς σφαγὴν, ἅμα τέκνοις  
καὶ γυναῖκας. Joseph. lib. 2.  
Bell. Jud. c. 17. (al. 9.)

ty days before those minatory Letters came unto his hands, *Petronius* received others that certified him of the death of that bloody Tyrant; who was so professed an Enemy not only to the Jewish Nation, but also to his own, that he \*wished the People of Rome had but one neck, that he might cut it off with one blow.

\* *utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet. Suet.*

in C. Caligula, c. 30. Dio. hist. lib. 59. P. Oros. lib. 7. c. 5.

There were living at that time three of the sons of *Judas* of Galilee, *James*, *Simon*, and *Manabem*; who, no doubt, would not let slip such an opportunity as this, to stir up those seditious spirits that adhered unto their Fathers Sect, unto an open defection from the Roman Government. But sure it is, that the †two former, for such practices as these, † *Joseph. lib. 20. And q. c. 3.* were not long after crucified by *Tiberius Alexander* the Roman Governour. The third lived to be a chief Captain of the rebellious rout, that under pretence of recovering their Liberty, made that War against the Romans which brought themselves and their Country unto utter ruine: *Agrippa* the King, and *Josephus* the Priest labouring in vain to dissuade them from those seditious at-

S 3            tempts,

tempts.

For, said Agrippa to them,

\* Ἀλλὰ μὴν τόγα νόον ἰδοῦ-  
 θείας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀγορᾶν· ἵνα  
 ὡς τὸ μὴδὲ ὑποβελῆν αὐ-  
 τῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι φερόμενον·  
 ἢ γὰρ πείρα τὴν δουλείας χαλε-  
 πὴν καὶ σφοδρὰ μὴδὲ ἀρεστὰν  
 πάντες οὐκ ἔχον διηγεῖσθαι· ὁ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρῶν ἐκτετατὴν ἐπι-  
 σταύρωσιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ δούλος  
 ὢν, ἐφελκόμενος. Joseph.  
 l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 28. (al. 16.)

\* Now to desire Liberty is un-  
 seasonable: you ought at first  
 to have striven, that you might  
 not lose it; considering that  
 the admittance of slavery is a  
 heavy thing, and that it may  
 not at all begin, is a just cause of  
 War. But he who being once  
 subdued doth afterwards re-  
 volt, sheweth himself to be a

contumacious Servant, rather than a Lo-  
 ver of Liberty. Which Josephus also put  
 them in mind of afterward; that al-

† Εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν  
 ὡς ἰδοῦ θείας χαλὸν, καὶ ἡ-  
 ναι τὸ φερόμενον τὸ δὲ ἀπαξ  
 ὑποπτόμενος, καὶ μακροῖς ἐπὶ  
 ξαντας χρόνοις, ἐπειτα ἀπο-  
 σείας τὸ ζυγὸν δουλαγωγί-  
 των ἐφελκόμενος. Id.  
 l. 6. c. 26. (al. 11.)

though † it be a good and com-  
 mendable thing to fight for Li-  
 berty, yet that was to be done  
 in the beginning: but for those  
 that were once brought into sub-  
 jection, and for a long time had  
 undergone the same, to shake off  
 the yoke afterward, would be

the part of those that were desirous of a  
 shameful death, rather than of such as  
 would be accounted the Lovers of Li-  
 berty.

|| Τὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν φερόμενον· Πα-  
 μῆναι πολέμῳ καταβῆναι· καὶ  
 γὰρ ὡς τὸν θυγατέρα Καί-  
 σαρ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵαν, καὶ πολλὰ

The prime || foundation of  
 this cruel War was laid by  
 Eleazar the son of Ananias  
 the High Priest; who, with  
 his

his complices, rejected the sacrifice that was to be offered for Cæsar, and with him for the Romans, notwithstanding that divers of the chief Priests and others of the best esteem did earnestly request them not to intermit that custom of sacrificing for their Governours; telling them that thereby, meerly \* to provoke the Arms of the Romans, and (as it were) to wed a War from them, they had brought in a new kind of Religion: † it being to be feared, that such as rejected the sacrifices which were for them, should be forbidden any more to sacrifice for themselves; and that the City of Jerusalem should be out-lawed by the Empire, if quickly gathering their wits together they did not accept Cæsar's sacrifices, and rectifie this contumely before the same thereof should come unto those whom they had wronged thereby. The mischief was brought to the full height by those turbulent persons, who assumed to themselves the name of Ze-

ston, ἀλλ' ἔζηλοῦσιν τὰ χεῖρα τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀπορροῦντο. Id. l. 4. c. 12. (al. 5.)

S 4

† ἡ ἀρπαγὴ καὶ ἡ γνώ-  
μῃσι καὶ ἀπορροῦντο, καὶ  
ἀπορροῦντο τὸ ἑαυτοῦ  
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδοξασ-  
Joseph. l. 2 c. 30. (al. 17)

\* Αὐτοὶ δὲ νῦν ἐρεδίζονται  
τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα καὶ με-  
τ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων  
πόλεμον, καὶ πολεμῶν θρη-  
σκίαν ἐξέναν. Ibid.

† Δεδουκῆναι ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰς  
ἐκείνων ἀπορροῦντες  
δυσίας, καὶ ἀπορροῦντες καὶ τὰ  
ἐκείνων ἐκείνων, καὶ ἐκ-  
απορροῦντες ἡ πό-  
λις, οἱ καὶ τὰς ἀπορροῦν-  
σας ἀπορροῦντες τὰς  
ἐκείνων καὶ πάλιν ἐξήδησαν ὡς ὅτε  
καὶ φήσω, ἀπορροῦντες  
καὶ ὅτε. Ibid. 1

|| Τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων  
ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμα-  
σιν, ἀλλ' ἔζηλοῦσιν τὰ χεῖρα τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀπορροῦντο. Id. l. 4. c. 12.  
Josephus,

\* Τὴν σεβησοίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιληθούσης· πᾶν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐξημιμήσαντο, μήδ' ἐπ' αὐτίκῃν περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρ' ἡμῶν, αὐτοὶ ἐδολιπότες ἀγέλαστον· καὶ τοὶ δὲ σεβησοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν (ἐκλεμύσαν) ἐπέδωκεν. Id. l.7. c.30. (al.28.)

† Ἡ γὰρ καὶ τῶν δούλων τῆς λαοφιλίας ὁπότες κατ' ἔρευναν ἀλώσεως τῇ πόλει. Id. l.6. c.4.

Προσῆκον ἔχαστοι τὸ τὰ λαοφιλίας, τῶν θεῶν δὲ ἀξίαν ὅτι πᾶσι αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βεβαδίσαντο· ὅσους δὲ ἀνθρώπων δυνάμει οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκτρέφειν, πᾶσι κατέσκηψαν εἰς αὐτὸν, μέγιστον δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἐκτελέσαντα, ὡς ἐκτελείναι ἐν πολλοῖς αἰμαῖς ἐπιδεινόντες. Id. l.7. c.30.

Josephus, \* by their works make good their name: for there was no evil work which they did not imitate, nor any evil practised within the memory of man, wherein they shewed not themselves Zealous: howsoever they took their name from such as were zealous in goodness. But in the end they brought † desolation upon their City, ruine upon their Nation, and the || severity of Gods just judgment upon themselves. For as many punishments as it is possible for mans nature to endure, were heaped upon them, even to the last expiring of their life; which with variety of tortures they miserably finished.

The tail of this smoaking Firebrand was kindled afterward by that Captain of the Jewish Rebellion, who named himself Barcochebas, the Son of the Star, (as if that part of Balaams Prophecie, \* There shall come a Star out of Jacob, had been meant of him) but was by the Jews when they found their expectation deceived by him, termed Barcozba, the Son of a Lie. This lewd Impostor,

\* be

\* Num. 24.17.

\* because he could not draw the Christians from their Allegiance, nor persuade them to join arms with the Jewish Faction against the power of the Romans, inflicted all the tortures upon them that he could devise. For the Heresie of Judas of Galilee had by this time fully possessed the Jews; a People who † neither pleased † 1 Theff. 2. 15. God, and were contrary to all men; not onely || denying that they were any way tied by the Roman Laws, but also accounting it a crime to obey them. and now the spirit of Obedience did pass from the \* Synagogue of those which say they are Jews, and are not to the Church † of the living God, which did so wait † 1 Tim. 3. 15. for the Kingdom hoped for at the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that it detracted nothing in the mean time from that subjection our Lord himself, both by his precept and example, had prescribed to be given by his Followers unto all earthly Kings and Governours.

\* Cochebas dux Judaeae seditiosis nolentes sibi Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium, omnimodis cruciatibus necat. Euseb. in Chronico. Vid. & P. Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 13.

¶ Cum ipsi Romanis legibus teneri se negent, ita ut crimina leges putent; nunc velut Romanis legibus se vindicandos putent? Ambros. lib. 5. Epist. 29.

\* Rev. 2. 9. & 3. 9.

And yet were the Pagans so mistaken

\* ἤμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασι-  
λείαν περὶ δουλῶντος ἡμῶν,  
ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπων λέγοντες  
ἡμῶν ἀποκαλύπτει, ἡμῶν δὲ  
ἐπὶ θεῷ λαλῶντων. Justin.  
Martyr. pro Christianis A-  
polog. 2.

† Ἐροδοῖτο γὰρ ὁ παρ-  
σίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώ-  
δης. Hegesippus apud Eu-  
seb. lib. 3. Hist. Eccles. cap.  
20.

|| Ἐρωτηθέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆ βασιλείας αὐτοῦ,  
ὅποια τις εἴη, καὶ πότε, καὶ ποῦ  
φαντασθήσεται, λέγοντες δύναι, ὡς  
καὶ κοσμικὴ μὲν καὶ ἐπιγινώσκου-  
σα ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ ἀγγελοῦ ἐπὶ  
οὐρανόθεν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ  
αἵματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ὁπνίχθαι  
ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐν ζών-  
τι καὶ νεκροῖς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑ-  
κάστῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπισημασίαν  
αὐτοῦ. Ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτῶν  
κατεργασάμενα τὸ Δομιτιανόν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐντελὴν κατε-  
ργήσασθαι, ἐλθόντος μὲν  
αὐτοῦ ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
δὲ διὰ σωτηρίαν καὶ κατὰ  
τὸ ἐκκλησίαν διαδοῦναι. Id.  
ibid.

ken herein that, \* when they  
heard the Christians did expect  
a Kingdom, they undiscreefly  
supposed that they meant a  
worldly one, not that which  
hereafter they should have with  
God, at the second coming of  
our Saviour. Which the Em-  
perour Domitian is therefore  
said to have no less † feared,  
than Herod did the first.  
Whereupon he caused some  
that remained of the kindred  
of our Lord according to the  
Flesh to be presented before  
him, who being || demanded  
touching Christ and his King-  
dom, what kind of thing it  
was, and when and where it  
should appear, they returned  
for answer, that it was neither  
worldly nor earthly, but Cae-  
lestial and Angelical; and that  
it should be at the consummation  
of the World, when that he  
coming in glory shall judge the  
quick and the dead, and render  
unto every man according unto  
his works. Upon which it is  
said, that Domitian condem-  
ned



ned them not, but despising them as mean persons, did both let them go free, and by Edict staid the persecution then raised against the Church.

But our Saviour himself had long since resolved this doubt in that \*good\* 1 Tim. 6. 13. *confession* which he witnessed before *Pontius Pilate*; when he plainly declared, that † his Kingdom was not of this world. † Joh. 18. 36. Whereupon S. *Augustin* maketh this loud Proclamation, || Hear Jews and Gentiles, hear Circumcision, hear Uncircumcision, hear all Kingdoms upon Earth. I do not hinder your Government in this World: My Kingdom is not of this World: and then biddeth them, \*not to fear with that most vain fear where- with Herod was so troubled, when news was brought him that Christ was born, and killed so many Infants, that death might come upon him; being made more cruel by fearing than by being angry. Of whom Maximus Taurinensis also thus, The King was troubled, fearing, I believe, his Kingdom should be touched: not

|| Audite Judei & Gentiles, audi Circumcisi, audi Praeputium, audite omnia regna terrena. Non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo: Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo. August. in Evang. Johan. tract. 115.

\* Nolite metuere metum vanissimo, quo Herodes ille major, cum Christus natus nunciaretur, expavit, & tot infantes, ut ad eum mors perveniret, occidit; timendo magis quam irascendo crudelior. Id. ibid.

† Turbatur Rex, regno (crudo) metuens suo: nescius quia Christus non veniebat regnum ejus invadere, sed salvare; & quod nulli inferret m- know-

tem qui est vita cunctorum:  
Maxim. Taurin. homil. 4.  
in Epiph. Dom. See the  
Book of the Religion of  
the ancient Irish, toward  
the end of the XI. chap.

\* Καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ἀνέ-  
στη λόγος τότε, ὅτι εἶπεν  
καὶ κενόδομος διαβάλλων τὸς  
ἀποστόλους, καὶ ὅς ἐστιν ἀνατρο-  
πῇ τὴν κοινὴν νόμον πάντων  
καὶ ποιῶν καὶ λύων.  
Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom.  
hom. 23.

† Ordinatus quidam per hæc  
Paulus Ecclesiam Dei, ut ni-  
hil adversus Principibus &  
potestatibus seculi gerens, per  
quietem & tranquillitatem  
vitæ opus justitiæ & pietatis  
exerceat. Si enim ponamus  
verbi gratia, credentes Chri-  
sto potestatibus seculi non esse  
subjectos, tributa non redde-  
re, nec velligalia pensitare,  
nulli timorem, nulli honorem  
deferre; nonne per hæc Re-  
clorum & Principum merito  
in semetipsos arma converte-  
rent; & persecutores quidem  
suos excusabiles, semetipsos  
vero culpabiles redderent?  
Non enim jam fidei sed contum-  
aciæ causa impugnari viden-  
tur: & esset eis causa qui-  
dam mortis, meritum vero mor-  
tis indignum. Orig. l. 9. in Ep.  
ad Rom. c. 13.

knowing that Christ came not  
to invade his Kingdom, but  
to save it; and that he inten-  
ded not to bring death upon a-  
ny, who is the life of all  
men.

And whereas after the a-  
scension of our Saviour, there  
had been \* a great fame spread  
abroad, which charged his A-  
postles with sedition and inno-  
vation, as if they had directed  
all their actions and speeches  
to the subversion of the com-  
mon-Laws; S. Paul therefore  
was very careful to † give  
order to the Church of God,  
that without making any oppo-  
sition to secular Princes and  
Powers, in quietness and tran-  
quillity of life, it should exer-  
cise the work of Justice and  
Piety. For if we should admit,  
for example (saith Origen)  
that such as believed in Christ  
would not be subject to the se-  
cular Powers, nor render tri-  
bute, nor pay customs, nor give  
fear or honour unto any: should  
not they by this means deser-  
vedly

vedly turn the Arms of Governours and Princes against themselves, and thereby make their Persecutors excusable, but themselves culpable? For now it would appear that they were impugned, not for their Faith, but for their Contumacies sake, and to have a cause indeed of death, but a merit of death very unworthy of their Profession.

Which Apostolical Lesson the Christians which endured the brunt of the first Ten Persecutions, had learned so exactly, that none in the whole World were found so dutiful unto their Princes as they: as appeareth both by their known practice, and their own professions in their publick Apologies. \* For if we did expect an earthly Kingdom, saith Justin Martyr to the Emperour Antonius, we would deny our Religion, that we might escape death; and we would labour to conceal our selves, that we might attain our expectation. But because we have not our hopes fixed upon the things of this life, we care nothing for those that slay us; being otherwise assured that we must certainly die. And as for the preservation

\* Εἰ δὲ ἀνδράπινον βασιλείαν προσδοκῶμεν, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὴ ἀναραιμῶμεν, καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπειρώμεθα ὅπως ὅτι προσδοκῶμεν τὴν γῆν· ἀλλὰ ἐπεισὶς εἰς τὸν θάνατον ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναρῶντων ἡ περὶ τὴν γῆν, ὅτι καὶ πάντως δεδιωγμένοι ὀφείλομεν. Ἀρα οὖν οἱ δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ σύμμαχοι εἰς εἰρήνην ἡμῶν πάντων ὑμῶν ἀνδράπινον. Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.

of

of Peace, we yield to you more help and assistance than all other men. And for

\* Θόρυς ὃ καὶ ἐστρατεύετο τοῖς  
ὕψ' ὑμῶν πεταγμένοις πε-  
ταχὲν ἐπὶ πάντων περιώμια  
φέρειν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ'  
αυτοῦ [Χριστοῦ] καὶ ὁδὸν Θεοῦ  
μὴ μόνον σεσχημένον, ὑμῶν  
δὲ σεβῆς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες  
ὑποταγμένοι, βασιλεῖς καὶ  
ἀρχεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁμολο-  
γῶντες. Id. ibid.

but in other things we chearfully do service unto you, acknowledging you to be the Kings and Princes of men. So Theophi-

† Τὸν βασιλέα τίμα, τίμα  
ἐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος  
αὐτῷ, ἐυχόμενοι καὶ αὐτῷ  
εὐχόμενοι, ποιεῖς τὸ θέ-  
λημα τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγει ὁ νό-  
μος. Τίμα, φέ, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ  
βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώ-  
πῳ ἀπειθῆς ἦς. Theophil. ad  
Autolyc. l. i.

¶ Ἐπὶ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπο-  
τασσόμενοις ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις,  
καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτοῖς, κα-  
λῶν ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς λόγος,  
ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχον βίον  
ἰδύμεν. Id. lib. 3.

† Tributes and Collections, we endeavour every where before all others, to bring them in unto the Officers appointed under you: as we have been taught by our Lord himself, commanding us to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars. Whence we worship indeed God alone,

luz Bishop of Antioch, † Honour the King, honour him by wishing well unto him, by being subject unto him, and by praying for him. For in doing thus thou shalt do the will of God: for the Law of God saith, My son, honour God and the King; and be disobedient to neither of them.

|| And again, the Word of God commandeth us to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.

So likewise Athenagoras, in his Apology to M. Aurelius and his Son Commodus,

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us, having declared that the Christians

were \* of all others most piously and justly disposed toward God and their Empire; and wished them † to make enquiry touching their life, doctrine, observance and obedience toward them, together with their House and Empire; concludeth his whole discourse with this profession, || We pray for your Empire that the Son (as it is most just) may in the Kingdom succeed the Father, & that your Empire may increase and flourish, all being made subject unto you; which would be much for our good; that we, leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands.

Tertullian is full to the same purpose; \* Thou that thinkest we have no care of the safety of Caesar, look into the Word of God, I mean our Books, which neither we ourselves do suppress, and many chances bring to Foreigners. Know, that by them we are

\* Πάντων ἐννοήσασα διακονήσας καὶ δικαιοσύνην ὡς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑμῶν βασιλείαν. Athenagor. legat. pro Christian.

† Πρὸς ὑμᾶς λοιπὸν, ἡμεῖς ποιεῖν ποιήσασθαι βίον, δογματῶν τῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμῶν οἶκον καὶ βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς. Ibid.

|| Πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀρχὴς τῶν ὑμῶν ἐκ δυνάμεως, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς παῖς καὶ τὸ δικαιοσύνην διὰ δυνάμεως βασιλείαν, αὐξήσῃ καὶ ἐπιδόσῃ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ἐννοήσας καὶ δικαιοσύνην, λαμβάνει τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ ὡς ὑμῶν, ὅπως ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡσυχίαν βίον διαζώμεθα, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ καλὰ δύνανται ὑμῶν ὑπακούμεθα. Ib

\* Qui putas nihil nos de salute Caesarum curare, inspicite Dei voces, literas nostras; quas neque ipsi suppressimus, & plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis preceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, & persecutoribus nostris bona peccari. Qui magis ini-

COM-

*mici & persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste, Orate, inquit, pro Regibus & pro Principibus & potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint. Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium: concussis etiam ceteris membris ejus, utique & nos (licet extranei à turbis assumimur) in aliquo loco casus invenimur. Tertul. Apol. c. 31, 32.*

commanded for the shewing the redundancy of our charity to pray unto God even for our enemies, and to with well unto our Persecutors. Now who are more enemies and persecutors of Christians than they, the neglect of whose Majesty we are brought to answer for as a Crime? But beside, by name and expressly, Pray, saith the Scripture, for Kings and for Princes and Powers, that all things may be peaceable. For together with you is the Empire shaken: and the rest of the members thereof being so shaken, surely we also (altho esteemed strangers from such troubles) will be found partakers of that fall. And

*\* Itaque & sacrificamus pro salute Imperatoris, sed Deo nostro & ipsius: sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece, &c. Ita nos magis oramus pro salute Imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui præstare potest. Id. ad Scapulam c. 2.*

*† Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum & potestatibus. Idem in Apolog. c. 39.*

*\* therefore do we sacrifice for the safety of the Emperour, but to our God and his, and in such sort as God himself hath commanded with pure prayer. So that we pray for the Emperours safety more than you, asking it of him who is able to give it. And again, † We pray for Emperours, for their Officers and Magistrates. For the Emperours*

perours \* safety we call upon the eternal God, the true God, the living God; whom the Emperours themselves would wish before all others should be propitious unto them. They know who gave them their Empire, and they know, as they are men, who gave them their Soul: they understand that he onely is God, in whose power alone they are.

† Having our arms therefore thus spread out unto God, let the Hooks tear us, the Crosses hang us, the Fires lick us up, the Swords cut our throats, the Beasts leap upon us: the posture of a Christian praying is prepared for all kind of torment. Go to now, you good Presidents, wrest out the soul that is a supplicating for the Emperour.

And with what invincible constancy they endured this Cruelty (|| which they accounted their Glory) without any thought of revenge or resistance to the authority placed over them, howsoever they had power enough to meet with their Persecutors, the same Author thus elegantly declares; We

T

\* Nos pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem & ipsi Imperatores propitium sibi præter ceteros malunt. Sciunt quis illis dedit imperium, sciunt qua homines, quis & animam: sentiunt eum Deum esse solum, in cuius solius potestate sunt. Id. ib. c. 30.

† Sic itaque nos ad Deum expansos ungula fodiant, crucis suspendant, ignis lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, bestie insiliant: paratus est ad omne supplicium habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, beati Praesides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore. Ibid.

|| Cruelitas vestra gloria est nostra. Tertullian. ad Scapulam. c. ult.

\* are

\* Circa maiestatem Imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri poterunt Christiani; sed iidem ipsi, qui per Genios eorum in pridie usque iuraverunt, qui pro salute eorum hostias & fecerant & voverat, qui Christianos saepe damnaverant, hostes eorum sunt reperi- ti, &c. Et utique ex disciplina patientiæ divini agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cuiusque in silentio & modestia agimus; singuli forte magis noti quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles, quam de emendatione vitiorum pristinorum. Absit enim ut indigne seramus ea nos pati quæ optamus, aut ultionem à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo expectamus. Id. ibid. cap. 2.

\* are defamed touching the Imperial Majesty: and yet were Christians never found to be Albinians, Nigrians, or Cassians; (relating to Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Avidius Cassius, who rebelled against the Emperours of his time) but the same men that the very day before did swear by the Genius of the Emperour, that offered up and vowed sacrifices for their safety, that had often condemned the Christians were found to be their enemies. And that we indeed do carry our selves according to that lesson which we have learned of divine patience, hereby it may be manifest enough unto

you, that being so great a multitude of men, the greater part almost of every City, we behave our selves silently and modestly; being perhaps better known severally than jointly, nor otherwise discernable but by the amendment of our former Vices. For God forbid that we should take those things in evil part which we desire to suffer, or plot any revenge from our selves, which we expect from the hand of God. Otherwise

\* one



\* one night, with a few fire-brands, would yield us sufficient revenge, if it were lawful with us to expunge evil with evil. But God forbid that the followers of the divine Religion should either revenge themselves with humane fire, or be grieved to suffer that wherein they are tried. And had we been minded to profess open hostility, and not to practise hidden revenge, could we want number of men or force of Arms? Are the Moors, and the Marcians, and the Parthians themselves, or any one particular Nation whatsoever, more in number than we that are spread over the whole World? We are not of you, and yet we have filled all you have; your Cities, Islands, Castles, Towns, Assemblies, your very Tents, Tribes, and Wards, yea the Palace, Senate and place of Judgment. Your Temples alone we leave unto your selves. For what War were not we able and ready, though we were fewer in num-

\* Quando vel una nox paucis saculis largitatem ultionis posset operari, si malum m. l. dispungi penes nos liceret. Sed absit ut aut igni humano vindicaretur divina secta, aut doleat pati in quo probatur. Si enim & hostes externos, non tantum vindices occultos, agere vellemus, desset nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri & Marcomani, ipsique Parthi, vel quantacunque unius tamen loci & suorum finium gentes quam totius orbis? Externi sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus Tempia. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuisset, etiam impares copiarum, qui tam libenter trucidamur? si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere. Potuimus & inermes, nec rebelles sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbem remoti sinum abrupissemus à vobis; suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcumque amissio civium; imo etiam & ipsa destitutions punisset. Proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram ad silentium rerum & stuporem quendam

quasi mortuae urbis quæssissetis  
quibus in ea imperassetis.  
Plures hostes quam cives vo-  
bis remansissent: nunc enim  
pauciores hostes habetis præ  
multitudine Christianorum pe-  
ne omnium civium, pene omnes  
cives Christianos habendo.  
Tertull. in Apolog. cap. 37.  
vide etiam cap. 49, & 50.

ber than you, that go to our  
Martyrdom so gladly; if it  
were not more lawful in our Re-  
ligion to be slain, than to slay?  
We could without arms, never  
rebellling, but onely dividing  
our selves from you, have done  
you spite enough with that se-  
paration. For if so great a multitude of  
men as we are should have broken out from  
you into some corner of the World, the loss  
of so many Citizens would have shamed  
you, yea, and by the very destitution pu-  
nished you. Without all peradventure you  
would have been afraid to see your selves  
left solitary; and in that silence of things,  
and kind of amazement of a dead City,  
you would have sought whom you might rule  
in it. More enemies would have remain-  
ed unto you than Citizens: where now  
you have fewer enemies by reason of the mul-  
titude of your Citizens, that are almost all  
Christians.

\* Γινεσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐναντί-  
ον τοῦ νόμου καὶ λόγου  
Θεοῦ ὡς μαγευμένους, καὶ ὁρ-  
μώμενους κατὰ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξείρεσθαι  
βασιλείας ἢ δυνάμεις θυμῶν,  
ὅτι αἰκίας καὶ βασανισθεία ἢ  
καὶ θανάτου ἡμᾶς φέροντα,  
ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ τὸ Παῦλον

And yet, saith Origen,  
\* When we do nothing contrary  
to the Law and Word of God,  
we are not so mad nor furious  
as to stir up against our selves  
the wrath of the King, or the  
Magistrate, which would bring  
upon

upon us blows, torments, and  
divers kinds of death. For  
we have read that which is  
written, Let every soul be  
subject unto the higher pow-  
ers: for there is no power  
but of God; and the powers

that be, are ordained of God. *They there-  
fore that oppose the power, do oppose the or-  
dinance of God.* But when without any  
opposition to this power, the Christian  
for the preservation of a good Consci-  
ence submitteth himself thereunto, rea-  
dy to endure any torments rather than  
on either side to violate the duty im-  
posed upon him by his God; the less  
he seeketh to right himself therein, the  
more will he to whom vengeance be-  
longeth assume the cause into his own  
hand. Which maketh S. Cyprian thus  
boldly to deliver his mind unto Deme-  
trianus, the cruel persecutor of Gods  
Saints in Africa; \* *Leave off to hurt the  
Servants of God and Christ by thy Perse-  
cutions; whom being hurt the Divine  
vengeance doth defend. For hence it is  
that none of us when he is apprehended*

Ἰνὰ ἡγουίας ὑποτάσσονται  
τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ  
ἡγουία ἐκ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, αἱ  
δὲ καὶ ἡγουίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ταταγμέναι εἰσὶν ὥστε οἱ ἀν-  
δεύοντες τῇ ἡγουίᾳ, τῇ τε  
Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνδρῶν.  
Origen. l. 8. contra Celiuum.

\* *Leave off to hurt the  
Dei & Christi  
persecutionibus  
tuâ desine, quos  
lesos ultio Di-  
vina defendit.  
Inde est enim  
quod nemo no-*

strum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur: nec se adversus injus-  
tam violentiam, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur. Patientes facit de  
sutura ultione securitas, Cyprian. de Demetrian.

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doth resist, or revenge himself against your unjust violence, although the number of our People be exceeding great. The confidence we have, that God will hereafter avenge us, doth make us patient: to the returning of which vengeance the Lord is the sooner moved, when he doth find at the same time the Persecuted labouring with him for the welfare of their

Persecutors. For \*we, saith Cyprian there, day and night continually and instantly do pray, propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and safety.

And † to him we pour incessant prayers for the reign of Valerianus and Galienus, that it may continue unshaken, saith Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria. || For thy safety have I

always worshipped Christ, and for the state of the Roman Empire have I always adored him who is in heaven; saith S. Sebastian unto the Emperor Dioclesian: and again,

∴ The Priests of the Temples do possess the minds of your Majesties with most unjust surmises, suggesting false tales, as if they

\* Pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus jugiter atque instanter oramus. Cyp. ad Demet.

† Καὶ τότε διωκῶς ὁ  
βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ (Οὐαλε-  
ριανὸς καὶ Γαλιένος) ὅπως ἀ-  
παλλάξῃ διαδοχῇ. Dion.  
Alexan. advers. German.  
apud Euseb. l. 7. hist. Ec-  
cles. c. 11.

|| Pro salute tua semper Christum colui; & pro statu orbis Romani illum qui in caelis est semper adoravi. A. 5. Sebastiani; apud Surium, Januar. 10. & Vincent. Bel-  
loracens. in Specul. hist. l. 12. c. 18.

∴ Iniquissimis subreptionibus animos imperii vestri templorum Pontifices obsident, suggerentes de Christianis falsa commenta, tanquam

they were adversaries to the Common-wealth: whereas by their prayers the Common-wealth is bettered and increased: for they cease not to pray for your Empire, and for the safety of the Roman Army.

And here, under those cruel Emperours *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* (in whose Army *S. Sebastian* served) that most illustrious example of Passive obedience presenteth it self unto our view, which the *Thebean* Legion shewed, consisting of 6666. valiant Christians. The tenth man of whom, when *Maximian* had caused to be executed for refusing to offer sacrifice unto his false Gods, *Mauricius* taking the rest of the Legion aside, used this oration unto them: as *Eucherius* Archb. of *Lyons* relateth in the Acts of

their Martyrdom. \* I congratulate your Virtue, most worthy fellow-Souldiers, that, for the love of Religion, the command of Cæsar wrought no fear at all in you. You have seen your fellow-Souldiers, in a manner with rejoicing minds, to have been delivered up unto a glorious death. How did I fear

*illi sint Republicæ adversarii: cum illorum orationibus Respublica in melius proficiat & crescat: non enim cessant pro imperio vestro & pro salute Romani exercitus orare. Ib.*

\* Gratulor virtuti vestræ, commilitones optimi, quod amore religionis nullam vobis Cæsaris præceptum attulit formidinem. Gaudentibus quodammodo animis tradi ad necem gloriosam commilitones vestros vidistis. Quam timui ne quisquam, quod armatis facile est, specie defensionis beatissimis funeribus manus afferre tentaret! Jam mihi ad hujus rei interdictum Christi

nostri parabatur exemplum, qui exemptum vagina Apostoli gladium propria vocis iussione recondidit: docens, maiorem armis omnibus Christianis confidentia esse virtutem. Hic Deus Christus plane mentes vestras manusque prohibuit; ne quisquam Divino operi mortalibus dextris obfisteret, quinimo cepti operis fidem perenni religione compleret. Hactenus exempla sacris inserta codicibus legabamus: jam nunc pri nosmet ipsos, quos sequi debeamus, adspeximus, &c. Encher. Lugd. in Act. Mart. Agaunensium (tom. 5. Surii, Sept. 22.

lest any of you (as it was easie for armed men to do) under pretence of defence should by lifting up his hands give interruption to their most blessed funerals! I had now ready at hand, for the forbidding of this attempt, the example of our Christ, who by the command of his own mouth put up the sword which was unsheathed by his Apostle: teaching thereby, that the virtue of Christian confidence is greater than all weapons.

Here Christ our God did clearly prohibit your minds and hands, that none with mortal arm should resist the Divine work, but rather with ever continued Religion add a consummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inserted into the Holy Scriptures: but even now we our selves have beheld, whom we ought to imitate.

Then, when Maximinian had commanded that a second decimation should be made of those that remained, Exuperius, taking into his hands the Ensigns of his Legion, spake thus unto them,

\* Tenere me, commilitones optimi, secularium quidem bellorum

\* My most worthy fellow-Souldiers, I hold, as you see, the Ensigns

signs of a secular Warfare: but to these arms I provoke you not; I excite not your courage and your valor to such wars as these. Another kind of fight is to be chosen by us. It is not by these swords that you can make your way to the kingdom of heaven: and afterwards wisheth this message should be returned unto the persecuting Empe-  
 rour, \* We are thy Souldiers indeed, but withall (which we freely profess) Gods servants. To thee we owe our employment in the War, to him our innocence: from thee have we received the reward of our labour; to him we are beholding for the beginning of our life.

We cannot so follow thee in this, though our Prince, as to deny God who is our Maker, and (whether thou wilt or wilt not) is thine also.

After this, in Adoes Martyrology there are many other passages interser-  
 ted; and in the end this, *Non nos vel hæc ultimæ vitæ necessitas in rebellionem cogit.* As for us, even this necessity of our last life doth not drive us to rebellion. But it followeth in Eucherius, Despair

*rum signa perspicitur; sed non ad hæc arma provocos; non ad hæc bella animos vestros virtutemque compello. Aliud nobis genus eligendum est praliorum. Non per hos gladios potestis ad regna cælestia preparare.*  
 Ibid.

\* *Milites sumus, Imperator, tui: sed tamen servi (quod libere fateamur) Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. A te stipendium laboris accepimus; ab illo vitæ exordium sumpsimus. Sequi Imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut authorem nostrum negemus Deum; authorem, velis nolis, tuum.*

\* it

\* Non nos adversum te, Imperator, armavit ipsa, que fortissima est in periculis, desperatio. Tenemus ecce arma, & non resistimus: quia mori magis quam vincere volumus, & innocenter interire quam noxii vivere præoptamus. Si quid in nos ultra statueris, ignem, tormenta, ferrum; subijci parati sumus. Christiani sumus, persequi Christianos non possumus. Inexpugnabiles legionis istius animos, Cæsar, agnosce. Tela projicimus: exarmatas quidem dexteræ satelles tuos, sed armatum fide Catholica petius invenient. Occide, prosterne: secandas gladiis persecutoribus cervices præbemus intrepidi. Ibid.

† Cædebantur itaque passim gladiis, non reciamantes saltem aut repugnantes, sed & depositis armis cervices persecutoribus præbentes, & jugulum vel intectum corpus offerentes. Adonis Mart. X. Cal. Octob,

\* it self, ô Emperour, which most strengthens men in dangers, hath not been able to arm us against thee. Behold we have our weapons, and yet resist not: as willing rather to die than overcome, and choosing rather to perish innocent, than live Traitors, If to what already thou hast decreed against us, thou wilt add more, be it Fire, or Torture, or the Sword, we are ready for it. We are Christians, and such as our selves we cannot persecute. Consider, ô Cæsar, the courage of this Legion. Our weapons we cast away: and thy Executioner shall find our hands unarmed, but our breasts he shall find armed with the Catholick Faith. Kill us, down with us: without all fear we offer our necks to be cut off by the Swords that are appointed to slay us. And so † were they all put to the Sword, not any way gainsaying or resisting; but with their weapons laid down, giving their necks, and offering their throats or naked bodies unto the Persecutors.

Not unlike was the case of the Martyrs that afterwards suffered under Sapor King of Persia: in whose name Joseph



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Joseph answered thus to Zerob that late in judgment upon him, \* We

have given up our selves like sheep unto the slaughter; as having learned to be subject to all higher powers. And that

Christs Church militant in general had very well learned this Lesson of Passive obedience, that place of S. Aug-

stine may sufficiently declare unto us, † Neither then did the City of Christ, although as yet it were a pilgrim upon earth

but had Armies nevertheless of great Peoples appertaining unto it, fight for their temporal safety against their wicked Persecutors; but rather, that it might

obtain eternal happiness, made no resistance at all. They were bound, they were shut up in prison, they were beaten, they were

tortured, they were burned, they were slaughtered, they were cut in pieces; and yet were multiplied: together with the testimony of Lactantius; who was himself

an eye-witness of that terrible Persecution raised by Dioclesian and Maximian.

|| Whereas we suffer such terrible things, we

do

\* Nos enim nos ipsos tanquam oves tradidimus ad occisionem; ut qui didicerimus esse subiecti omnibus potestatibus. Act. 55. Acephimæ, Joseph & Acithalus; apud Simeon Metaphr. Nov. 3. (tom. 5. Lipom. fol. 18. fin.)

† Neque tunc civitas Christi, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris, & haberet tamen magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores suos pro temporali salute pugnavit; sed potius, ut obtineret eternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cedebantur, torquebantur, urdebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 21. c. 6.

|| Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur: sed Deo remittimus ultionem. Lactan. Instit. l. 5. c. 21.

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do not resist so much as with a word; but leave the revenge to God. Whereof he wished the Persecutors to make this use,

\* Cum ab ortu Solis usque ad occasum lex Divina suscepta sit, & omnis sexus, omnis ætas, & gens, & regio unitis ac paribus animis Deo serviant; eadem sit ubique patientia, idem contemptus mortis: intelligere debuerant, aliquid in ea re esse rationis, quod non sine causa usque ad mortem defendatur, aliquid fundamenti ac soliditatis, quod eam Religionem non tantum injuriis ac vexatione non solvat, sed augeat semper & faciat firmiorem. Id. ibid.

\* Whereas from the rising of the Sun to the fall thereof the Divine Law hath been received, and every Sex, every Age, and People, and Countrey, with united and equal minds do serve God; the same patience is found every where, the same contempt of death: they ought to understand there is some reason in the matter, that not without cause it should thus be defended unto the death; and there is

some foundation and solidity therein, that Persecution doth not onely, by the injuries and vexations thereof, not dissolve this Religion, but also increase it continually and make it firmer.

Neither was this patience of the Saints seen onely in the Primitive Persecutions, wherein the Imperial Edicts armed the Infidel People for the extirpation of Christianity: but also after that Constantine the Great had abolished those bloody Acts, and enacted other Laws for the liberty of the Church of God,

the

the like subjection was constantly continued; as well under the *Arrian* Emperours, who retaining the title of Christians did endeavour with all their power to advance that damnable heresie, but also under *Julian* himself, who utterly revolted from the very profession of the name of Christ. For this man at first shewed such zeal in the embracing of our Religion, that

\* he, with *Gallus* his Kinsman (altho of the Bloud Royal) thought it not scorn to take upon him the Office of reading the holy Scriptures unto the People in the Church: and howsoever he afterwards \* secretly withdrew himself and adhered to the devillish Superstition of the *Pagans*; yet at his first entrance into the publick Government he pretended still to be a Christian, and for the further manifestation thereof, upon the sixth day of *January*, which we call the *Epiphany*, he repaired unto the Church of the Christians, and there joined with them in Gods publick

\* Τὸ μὲν γὰρ κλήρω φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκατέλεξαν, ὅσα τὰς θείας ὑπαγαγνύσκον τοῦ λαοῦ βίβλους. ὕδης ἑλκυσσον εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοῦ νομαζόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πύτων μείζον καλλώπισμα, & εὐσεβείαν. Greg. N. Z. Orat. 1. in Jul.

\* utq; omnes nullo impediēte ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, à quo jampridem occulte disciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis aruspiciū auguriisque intentus, & cæteris quæ Deorum semper facere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphaniam dictitant, progressus in eorum Ecclesiam, solenniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. Marcell. hist. l. 2.

\* Rufin, lib. 2.  
hifi. Eccl. c. 1.  
Soc. l. 3. c. 22.  
Theod. l. 4. c. 1.

† *Julianus ex-  
stitit infidelis  
Imperator. Non-  
ne extitit apo-  
stata, iniquus,  
idololatra? Mi-  
lites Christiani  
servierunt Impe-  
ratori infideli:  
ubi veniebat  
ad causam Chri-  
sti, non agno-  
scebant nisi il-  
lum qui in calis  
est. Quando vo-  
lebat ut idola  
colerent, ut thi-  
rificarent, prae-  
ponebant illi  
Deum. Quando  
autem dicebat,  
Produce acie-  
m, ite contra  
illam gentem;  
statim obtempe-  
rabant. Distin-  
guebant Domi-  
num aeternum à  
Domino tempo-  
rali: & tamen  
subditi erant,  
propter Domi-  
num aeternum,  
etiam domino  
temporali.* Aug.  
in Psal. 124.

worship. But when shortly after he had declared himself to be an open enemy unto the faith of Christ, the Christian Souldiers, of whom the main bulk of his Army did consist (as appeareth by their general acclamation unto *Jovianus* recorded in the \* Ecclesiastical History, when upon the death of *Julian* he was made Emperour in his room) did not thereupon revolt from him, as he had done from Christ; but held themselves still tied in Conscience to render unto *Cæsar* the things that were *Cæsars*, as to God the things that were Gods. † *Julian* was an unbelieving Emperour, saith S. *Augustin*. Was he not an Apostate, an Oppressour, an Idolater? Christian Souldiers did serve that unbelieving Emperor. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that is in heaven. When he would have them to worship Idols, and to offer incense, they preferred God before him. But when he said, Go forth to fight, invade such a Nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternal Lord from their temporal: and yet were they subject even to their temporal Lord for his sake that was their Lord eternal.

And what kind of weapons the other  
Chri-

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Christians used (who were the far stronger part of the Empire) against the present injuries which he offered unto them, and the more grievous afflictions which he intended afterward to bring upon them; *Gregory Nazianzen* declareth, when he sheweth that \* *they were repressed by Gods mercy and the Christians tears, which were many and shed by many, as having no other remedy against that Persecutor.* For † *we, saith he, unto whom no weapon, nor bulwark, nor any other defence was left but onely our hope in God, all humane succour being utterly taken away and cut off from us; whom else could we have, either bearer of our prayer, or stopper of the things that were threatned against us, but him that sweareth against the pride of Jacob?* And when that miserable mans wrath was gone, and those great thoughts of his perished with him, this grave Father doth thus magnifie God exceeding great goodnes unto his suppliants; || *What great preparation of Arms, and plotting of Projects could have wrought such things? how many thousands of men and orderings of Armies? as onely we supplicating, and God using his own pleasure, hath brought to pass.*

\* Ἐπερχοῖς ὃ  
τῷ τῷ Θεῷ φι-  
λανθρωπῶν καὶ  
ταῖς χειρῶν  
ἀκροσυν, ὁ  
πολλὰ ὃ καὶ πολλῶν ἐχρῆ-  
στο μόνον ἐ-  
λόντων καὶ τῷ  
ἀνὴτι φάρμα-  
κον. Greg. Naz.  
Orat. i. in Jul.  
† Ἡμεῖς ὃ οἷς  
καὶ ὅπλον καὶ τεί-  
χος, καὶ ἄλλο  
πάν ἀμυνθεῖ-  
ον, ἡ σὺς ὁ  
Θεὸς ἐλπίς ὑπε-  
λείπτο, πᾶσαν  
ἀνθρωπίνην  
σπερματικὴν καὶ  
σπερματικὴν  
ὀπκασίαν πα-  
τέρας ἵνα ἀ-  
εὶ ἔπρεον ἡ ὁ  
συχὴ ἀερα-  
τίω ἡ καλὴν  
τῇ ἀπεικασίαν  
ἐξ ἡμετέρας  
ἡ ὁ ἀμύνοντα  
καὶ ὁ ἰακωβ  
θεὸν ὑποφρα-  
vas. Id. Orat. 2.  
in eund.

|| Πόσαι ταῦτα  
κατέπραξαν ἐν  
ὄπλων ὄψι-  
σιν αἱ καὶ μη-  
χανημάτων ἐ-  
πίνοιοι; πόσαι  
μυριάδες ἐν-

δρῶν καὶ φάλαγγας; ὅπου ἱκατάμονες μόνον ἡμεῖς καὶ Θεὸς βυλινθὸς κατερ-  
γάσκειτο. Id. ibid. Among

## The Obedience of the Subject.

Among the *Arrian* Emperours the prime Persecutors of the Catholicks was *Constantius* the Son of great *Constantine*: unto whom the Orthodox Christians, where they could not tender their *active* did readily present their *passive* obedience: acknowledging his power to be from God, to whose judgment therefore they referred him; without the least thought of defending themselves and the truth of the Religion which they professed, by any violent opposition or taking up of Arms against their Sovereign. \* *Cease to*

\* Πάσαι δυνάμεις χριστιανῶν,  
μὴ πείραξτε δι' ἡμῶν εἰσελθεῖν  
καὶ ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.  
πάντα ὑπομένετε ἵνα μὴ ἔτοι-  
μοι ᾖ Ἀρειομανίᾳ κληθῆσθαι.  
Χριστιανὸς ὄντας ἡμᾶς μὴ  
ἀνάγκη εἶναι χριστομάχους κλη-  
θῆσθαι. τὸτο καὶ σοὶ συμβου-  
λοῦμαι, μὴ μάχη ποιεῖς καὶ  
δεδουλότα σοὶ καὶ ἀρχὴν ταύ-  
την, μὴ ἀντὶ ἐνχαριστίας ἀσε-  
βείας εἰς αὐτὸν· μὲν δυνάμει  
τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν,  
μὴ ἀκρότης καὶ σὺ. Σκληρόν  
σοὶ ποιεῖ κύνες λακτίζον.  
Liber. ad Const. apud Athan. in Epist. ad solitar. vit.  
egentes. (tom. i. p. 646.  
Cpmmelin.)

*persecute the Christians, do not labour by our means to bring impiety into the Church. We are ready to suffer all things, rather than to be called Arrians: compel not us, who are Christians to be accounted fighters against Christ. This is our counsel unto thee. Fight not against him that hath given this Empire unto thee; do not instead of thanks, requite him with impiety. Persecute not them which believe in him; lest thou also bear, It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. Thus freely did Li-*  
*berius*

berius Bishop of Rome encounter the heretical Emperour : resisting him no otherwise, but with the ready submit- tal of himself to that banishment which he was assured before-hand was deter- mined for him. In the like manner *Hosius*, that old Confessor, beginneth his stout, but dutiful Letter which he wrote unto him. \* *I was a Confessor at first, when the Persecution was raised by your Grandfather Maximian : and if you do also perse- cute me, I am now also ready to endure any thing rather than shed innocent blood and betray the truth.* Afterwards he putteth him in mind of his mortality, and of the day of judgment : acknow- ledging in the mean time that he had received from God his Imperial Sove- reignty, and therefore whosoever did detract any thing from thence, should therein oppose Gods Ordinance ; as we have heard heretofore. For which rea- diness of suffering, that general Prote- station of the People of *Alexandria* is not here to be forgotten. † *If it be the Emperours command that we should be persecuted, we are all ready to suffer Mar- tyrdom. But if there be no such thing, we do beseech Maximus, the Governour of Egypt, and all the Magistrates, that they*

\* Εγὼ μὲν αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὅτι δι- ωγμὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρί, οὗ Μαξιμιανῶ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ με διώκεις, ἐτοιμὸς καὶ νῦν πᾶν ὅπῃν ὑπομένειν ἢ ἁκατά- ραν ἀθέτον αἵ- μα καὶ σπένδοναι τιμὴν ἀλή- θειας. *Hosius, initio Epist. ad Constib.* (p. 649.)

† Εἰ μὲν ὅτι ἐν σπέν- σαγμα δεξιῶ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἑ- τοιμοὶ πάντες μαρτυρήσμεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δεξιῶν. Ἀλλὰ ἐν σπέν- σαγμα, ἀξιῶ- μέν τ' ἐπαρξέμεν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Μα- ξίμου, καὶ τοῦ παρὶδὲ τὰς πάντας, ἀξιῶ- σαι αὐτὸν, μη- κᾶν τοιαῦτα ὀπισησώμεν. *Populi Alex. Protest. (to n. i. oper. Athan. p. 858.)*

\* Benignifica  
naturatus, Do-  
mine beatissime  
Auguste cum be-  
nigna volunta-  
te concordat. Et  
quoniam de fon-  
te paternæ ple-  
tatis tuæ miseri-  
cordiæ largiter  
profluit; quod  
rogamus, facile  
nos impetrare  
posse. confidi-  
mus. Non so-  
lum verbis sed  
etiam lacrymis  
deprecamur, ne  
diutius Catho-  
licæ Ecclesiæ  
gravissimis in-  
juriis affician-  
tur; & intole-  
rabiles sustine-  
ant persecutio-  
nes & contume-  
lias & quod est  
nefarium, à fra-  
tribus nostris.  
Hilar. ad Const.  
l. 2.

† Permittat le-  
nitas tua popu-  
lis, ut quos vo-  
luerint, quos pu-  
taverint, quos  
elegerint, au-  
diant docentes  
& divina my-  
steriorum solen-  
nia concelebrant,  
Hilar. ad Const. l. 2.

would intreat his Majesty such things may  
not be attempted against us.

To this patient submission unto what-  
soever pressure should be imposed upon  
them by the authority which God had  
placed over them, his servants added  
most humble supplications; seconded  
with most earnest prayers for the wel-  
fare of the persecuting Emperour. Hence  
came that of St. Hilary unto him; \* Your  
mild nature, most blessed Lord, agreeth  
with your gracious disposition. And be-  
cause mercy doth flow abundantly from the  
Fountain of your Fatherly goodness; that  
which we intreat for, we assure our selves  
that we shall easily obtain. We beseech you,  
not onely with words, but also with tears,  
that the Catholick Church be no longer op-  
pressed with grievous injuries, and endure  
intolerable Persecutions and Contumelies,  
and that (which is most foul) even of our  
Brethren. † Let your clemency permit the

People to have such Teachers as they like,  
such as they think well of, such as they  
choose: and let them solemnize the divine  
mysterics, and offer prayers for your safety  
and happiness: and that of the twenty  
Bishops of the West, in the conclusion

& pro incolumitate, & beatitudine tua offerant preces.

Hilar. ad Const. l. 2.



of the first Letters which they wrote unto him from the Synod held at Ariminum. We beseech you that you cause us not to stay from our charges, but that the Bishops together with their own People may with Peace imploy themselves in prayers and the service of God; making supplications for your Kingdom, safety, and peace, in which the Divine Majesty long preserve you: and of the second likewise. † Again we beseech your clemency (our Lord and King, of God most beloved) that before the sharpness of the Winter, if it so please your godliness, you command us to return to our Churches: that we may together with the People accomplish our accustomed prayers to the Almighty God, and our Lord and Saviour Christ his onely begotten Son, for your Empire; as we have always heretofore done, and now continue still to do. And how ample those prayers were, which the true Christians made for the welfare and long continuance of him and his posterity, that which is yet extant, of || Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, may sufficiently demonstrate.

\* Ἰνα οἱ ὁμο-  
σκοποι σὺν τοῖς  
ἱερεῖς λαοῖς  
καὶ ἐιρηνῶς εἰς  
ἐκείνους καὶ κα-  
ταστάς ῥηθῶ  
ἐργασθῶν, ἵνα ὁ  
οὐκ ἔσται ἡ  
σὺς βασιλεία  
καὶ σωτηρία καὶ  
εἰρήνη, ἣν ἡ  
θεοῦ σοὶ εἰς  
τὸ διωκεῖς κα-  
ταστάς Ep. 1.  
Synod. Arimi-  
nen. ad Const.  
(apud Athan.  
in Ep. de Sy-  
nod. Arimin. &  
Seleuc. Soz.  
l. 4 c. 18. & So-  
crat. l. 2 c. 27.  
† Πάλιν τῷ  
σὺν εἰσανα-  
στάντι ἡμῶν  
κύριῳ, θεοῦ ἱε-  
ρατὸς βασιλεῖ,  
ὅπως σὺ καὶ  
πραχτήσῃς τῇ  
χριστιανῶν, εἰς  
ἀρετὴν τῇ σὺ  
ἐπιτελεῖς, καὶ  
λαοῖς ἡμῶν  
εἰς τὴν σωτη-  
ρίαν ἐκκλησίας  
ἐπανήδυν. ὡ-  
ς πρὸς τὴν σωτη-  
ρίαν τῶν πνευ-  
ματικῶν Θεῷ

καὶ τῷ δεσποτῇ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ, τῷ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ τῷ μονοζῳῳ. καὶ τῇ  
σὺς βασιλεία, τῇς ἐδίδως ἐκείνους καὶ ὅτι λαὸν ἀποκαθάρσας, καὶ τῶν καὶ αἰ-  
σθητικῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν. Epist. 2. Synod. Arimin. (apud Socr.

loc. notat.) ¶ [Χεῖρ] τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ χάριτι σε οὐκ ἐμὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ μέγαν ἐκτελέειας ἐμπρόσθε παρ' ὁρδόμεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν γνησίων βασιλικῶν ἐπαρτωμένων βλασφήμασιν. Αὐτὸς ὁ παμβασίλειος Θεὸς, ὁ πῶς ἀγαθωσύνης παρέχῃ πολλὰς ἐπὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐκδόδων, καὶ ἡμεῖς χεῖρας τοῖς καὶ κόσμῳ συμπαιτι φυλάξῃ παραίσιον ἐκδομένων καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ κακοτυμωμένων ἀρετῇ, καὶ τὴν σωτήριον ἡμῶν ἀρίστην ἐκκλησιᾶν καὶ τὴν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν τὴν φιλανθρωπικὴν ἐπιδοκυνύμενον, καὶ μέγαν ἐκτελέειας βασιλείας λαμπρότητων, πολλὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπὶ ἐκδόδων ὁ ὅλος Θεὸς ἡμῶν χάριτι παραίσιον, Αὐγεὶ βασιλεῦ διοριλέσας. Cyril. Hierosol. in fin. Epist. ad Constant.

We have yet remaining the Apology of *Athanasius* Archbishop of *Alexandria* unto the same *Constantius*: wherein he cleareth himself of four accusations that were laid to his charge.

I. That he had used some evil language against this Emperour unto his Brother *Constans*.

II. That he wrote Letters to *Magnentius*, who rebelled against and murdered the said *Constans*.

III. That he celebrated publick Prayers in the great Church of *Alexandria* before it was dedicated.

IV. That he obeyed not the Emperours command, requiring him to part from *Alexandria*.

\* Οὐ μαινόμενος βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐκτελέειας πηλαδόμενος τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ χάριτι σου, οὐκ ἐμὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ μέγαν ἐκτελέειας βασιλείας καὶ χάριτι σου, Αὐγεὶ βασιλεῦ διοριλέσας. Cyril. Hierosol. in fin. Epist. ad Constant.

Where to the first his answer is this; \* *I am not mad, o King, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King, no net in thine heart.*

For

For the repelling of the second, he draweth an argument from the publick Prayers which he made for *Constantius* himself; in whom he could not but contemplate (as in a glass) the image of *Con-*

*stantius* his Brother. And \*witness hereof, saith he, is first the Lord, who heard us and granted unto you the intire Empire which was left unto you by your Ancestors: then those who at that time were present. For the words I used were onely these, Let us pray for the welfare of the most religious Em-

perour *Constantius*: and presently the whole People with one voice cried, ô Christ, be favourable unto *Constantius*: and so continued a long time, thus praying. And

then concludes, † Let truth take place with you, and leave not such a suspicion upon the whole Church, as though such things as these should be thought on or written by Christians, and especially by Bishops.

As for the third he confesseth indeed he did so, being || urged thereunto by the importunity of the People, who earnestly pressed that they might all pray

\* Μάρτυρες τῶτων, προσευχόμενοι μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ἐπακούσας καὶ ἡσυχασάμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὶς σοὶ καὶ τοῖς βασιλείαν ἡμῶντες ἡ καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες· μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Ἐυχόμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς σου τοῦ βασιλέως Αὐγύστου Κωνσταντίνου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκείνης μετὰ φωνῆς εὐχόμεθα, Χεῖρε βοήθη Κωνσταντίνῳ, καὶ ὁ δέ μιν ἕτως ἐυχόμενος. Ibid.

† Κεατείτω ἡ ἀλήθεια ὡς σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἀφ᾽ ἡς ὑπόνοιαν καὶ πίστις ἐκκλησίας ἡμετέρας· ὡς τοιαῦτα βυλοφύων καὶ γεφύοντων χριστιανῶν, καὶ μάλιστὰ ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπων. Ibid.

|| Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑλίων καὶ βερεχέτων ὡσὺν, ἰσχυρότερον ἢ καὶ ὑλίων, ἀξιώντων ἐν τῇ

μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωθῆναι, καὶ καὶ πάντας ἐυχόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅπως καὶ γέγονεν. Athan. in Apol. ad Const. for

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for the welfare of the Emperour, in that Church which he himself had builded; being ready otherwise to go out of the City, and to assemble themselves in the deserts, at the solemnity of Easter, which at that time was celebrated. \* And

\* Σὺ δ', Θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, πρὸς τοὺς λαοὺς ἀν' ἡδύτατος ἐκτείνῃς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐχαρίστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου. Ibid.

you, o King, most beloved of God, (saith he) where would you have had the People stretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did pass by, or in that place which bore your own name; and

which then, or rather from the laying of the first foundation thereof, all men did call a Kirk? and then turning his speech

unto our blessed Saviour,

† Ὁ Θεογενὴς καὶ ἀληθὺς βασιλεὺς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Χριστῶν, καὶ τῆς Θεῆς μονογενεῖς, λόγος καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ σὺ φιλεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁ λαὸς ἠύξατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σὺ πατέρας τῶν πάντων Θεὸν παρακαλεῖς, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου. Ibid.

† O Lord Christ (saith he) who art indeed the King of Kings, the onely begotten Son of God, the Word and Wisdom of the Father, because the People have implored thy goodness, and by thee called upon thy Father, who is God over all, for the welfare of thy most Religious servant Constantius, I am now accused: and to the Emperour again, || You do not forbid, but are willing that all men should

|| Οὐ κωλύεις, ἀλλὰ θέλεις πάντας εὐχεσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντων ὅσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σου καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαπαντός. ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν καὶ παύτα φέρω τὰ κατέποντα ὑπομένω.

should pray, knowing that this is the prayer of all, that you may live in safety, and continually reign in peace. And this is the exhortation which I make against my accuser. But as for

you (ô Emperour of God most beloved) many circuits of years I pray you may live, and accomplish the dedication of this Church. For those prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do not a whit hinder the solemnity of the Dedication.

Lastly, To the fourth charge he answereth peremptorily, \* I did not oppose the command of your Majesty. God forbid. I am not such a man as would oppose the very Treasurer of the City, much less so great an Emperour. † I was not so mad as to gainsay such a command of yours. And || I neither did oppose the command of your Majesty; nor will now attempt to enter into Alexandria, untill you of your humanity be pleased I shall so do.

μαυ Σὺ δ', διορίσαυτε Αὐ-  
γυστε, ζήσας πολλὰς ἐτῶν  
σελεύδης, καὶ τὰ ἐγγράμια  
ἐπιτελείας αὐτοῦ ἡρώδου  
καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τῆς σω-  
τηρίας εὐχαὶ ἐκ ἀποδόξου  
τῆς ἐγγράμιας παύσιν.  
Athian, in Apol. ad Conit.

\* Οὐκ ἀντίσω  
σεσάγματι τῆς  
σῆς εὐτελείας.  
μὴ ἡρώδοι. ὅ  
καὶ τηλικέτος  
ἡμῶν ἵνα καὶ  
λοιπὴ πόλεως  
ἀντιστῇ, μήτηρ  
τηλικέτω βα-  
σιλεῖ. Ibid.  
† Οὐ καὶ ἐμα-  
νὸν ἀντι-  
στῆναι τοῖς τοῖς  
σεσάγματι.  
Ibid.

|| Οὐτε καὶ ἀντίσω σεσάγματι τῆς σῆς εὐτελείας, ὥστε νῦν εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
δρειαν εἰσελθεῖν παύσιν, ὥς ἢ σὺ φιλελευθέρῳ τῷ βέλῳ. Ibid.

We find this also recorded in the Ecclesiastical History as a discreet speech of *Aphraates* a zealous Christian; that



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[illegible]

1 Neque se manu  
defensavit aut  
telo; sed jejuniis  
continuisq; vi-  
giliis sub altari  
positus, per ob-  
sacrationes de-  
fensorem sibi at-  
que Ecclesie  
Deum paravit.  
Ruf. hist. Eccl.  
L. 2. c. 26.

spirit proceeded that Speech of his to his Flock at Milain, \* *Willingly I will never forsake you; being constrained I know not how to make opposition. I can sorrow, I can weep, I can sigh; against Armour, Souldiers and Goths, tears are my weapons: for such is the munition of a Priest. In any other manner I ought not nor cannot resist: and to the Emperours Officers, † If my patrimony be the thing sought for, take it: if my body, I will be ready. Will you hale me unto prison, or unto death? you shall do me a pleasure. I will not guard my self with multitudes of People; I will not lay hold upon the Altar to intreat for life; but will more willingly my self be sacrificed for the Altars: and to the Notary, || Deliver up my Church I may not, but fight I ought not. And .∴ when it was required of him that he should appease the fury of the People; his answer was, that it lay in his power not to incite them, but in the hand of God, to mitigate them. And yet how little cause the others had to fear that People, whom S. Ambrose had so well instructed in their duty toward their*

\* *volens nunquam vos deservam, coactus repugnare non novimus. Dolere poterō, flere, poterō gemere; adversus arma, milites, Gothos quoque lachrymæ meæ arma sunt. Talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliiter nec debeo, nec possum resistere.* Ambr. in Orat. de Basil. non tradend. contra Auxentium.

† *Si patrimonium petitur, invadite: si corpus, occurrā. Vultis in vincula rapere? Vultis in mortem? voluptati est mihi. Non ego me vallabo circumfusione populorum, nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans, sed pro altariis gratius immolabor.* Id. ad Marcel. sororem, Epist. 33. (al. 13.)

|| *Tradere basilicam non possum, sed pugnare non debeo.* Ibid. .∴ *Exigebatur à me ut compescerem populum. Reserebam, in meo jure esse ut non excitarem, in Dei manu ut mitigaret.* Ibid.

Prince;



Prince; the general acclamation made by them, and by him ascribed to the very inspiration of the Holy Ghost, may restifie to all posterity. For \*what, saith he, could more excellently have been said by Christian men, than that which the Holy Ghost spake in you this day? We make request, o Emperour, we fight not: afraid we are not, but yet we entreat. This (saith that good Bishop to his Disciples) doth besceem Christians; that both the tranquillity of peace should be desired by them, and their constancy in the faith and truth should not be deserted, no not with the peril of death.

*\* Quid præstantius dici potuit à Christianis viris quàm id quod hodie in vobis Spiritus Sanctus est locutus? Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus: non timemus, sed rogamus. Hoc Christianos decet, ut & tranquillitas pacis optetur, & fidei veritatisque constantia*

*nec mortis revocetur periculo. Ambr. ad Marcel. fororem. Epist. 33. (al. 13.)*

And as in the Empire, so in those other Kingdoms which were under the Government of Arrian Princes, their orthodox Subjects were careful to yield unto them all dutiful observance: acknowledging their power to have been given them by God; and, in that respect, as heartily praying for the continuance of their state and dignity, as they did for the abolishing and extinguishing of their Heresie. For proof whereof we need go no further than to the

Books

Books written by *Fulgentius* unto *Thrasimundus* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*; and the Council of *Agatha*, held under *Alarick* King of the *Goths* in *France*. For

\* Cum pro nostra fide, in quantum facultatem Divinitus accepimus, libere respondemus, nulla contumacie seu contumelie debemus suspitione notari; cum nec Regia finis dignitatis immemores, sciamusque Deo timorem, honorem Regibus esse exhibendum; Apostolica ita nos praeponente doctrina, &c. Competens igitur mansuetudinis tuae deferimus honoris obsequium, cui Regalis apicem culminis Divina cernimus largitate collatum. Fulg. ad Thrasim. Reg. l. 1.

about the beginning of his first Book *Fulgentius* thus maketh his entrance unto the *Arrian* Persecutor. \* When we answer freely for our faith, as far as God hath given us ability to do; we ought not to be taxed with any suspicion of contumacy or contumely: seeing we are not unmindful of the Regal dignity, and know that we must fear God and honour Kings, according to the Apostles doctrine. We therefore render all due obedience of honour unto your Grace; unto whom we see the top of Regal eminency hath been conferred by the divine liberality: and towards the end of his last Book concludes with this submiss and religious admonition to him, † I beseech you, O glorious King, that you would consider in your self the largeness of the Divine gift, and not diminish the power of him who bestoweth the same upon you: that he who hath given you this Kingdom temporal, may give you also that which is eternal. The preamble of the

† Quæso, gloriose Rex, ut in te

consideres largitatem Divini maneris, & potestatem non minus largitoris; ut qui tibi temporale donavit regnum, donet etiam sempiternum. Id. in fin. lib. 3. ad eund.

Council

Council of *Agatha*, wherein the Catho-  
lick Bishops pray for the prosperity of  
their *Arrian* Kings, is this, \* *When the*  
*holy Synod in the name of God and by the*  
*permission of the King, had met in the Ci-*  
*ty of Agatha, and we had set our selves*  
*down in the Church of St. Andrew; we*  
*there, with knees bended on the ground,*  
*did pray for his Kingdom and the long*  
*continuance of his People; that as he had*  
*granted us liberty to assemble our selves, so*  
*God would extend his Kingdom with*  
*Happinesse, govern it with Justice, and pro-*  
*tect it with Virtue.*

\* Cum in Dei no-  
mine ex permis-  
su Regis in Aga-  
thensem civita-  
tem sancta Sy-  
nodus convenis-  
set, & in S. An-  
dræ basilica  
confissemus;  
ibique flexis ge-  
nibus in terram  
pro regno ejus,  
pro longevitate  
populi deprec-  
remur, ut qui  
nobis congrega-  
tionis permisit  
potestatem, re-  
gnum ejus Do-  
minus felicitate  
extenderet, ju-

*stitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret, &c. Procm. Synodi Agathensis.*

Thus stood things hitherto, and a  
long while after, until the following  
times of darkness obscured this truth;  
so far, that in the days of the Emperour  
*Henry III.* (or *IV.* as others number  
him) that wicked innovation was  
brought in, whereof *Sigebert* maketh  
this mention in his *Chroni-*  
*cle*, † *That I may speak with*  
*the leave of all good men, this*  
*meer novelty (that I say not*  
*Heretic) was not yet risen up in*  
*the World; that the Priests of*

† ut pace omnium bonorum  
dixerim, hæc sola novitas, ne  
dicam hæresis, necdum in  
mundo emerferat, ut sacerdo-  
tes illius qui dicit Regi A-  
postata, & qui regnare fa-  
cit hypocritam propter  
God

peccata populi, doceant populum quod malis Regibus nullum debeant subjectionem, & licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant, nec perjurii dicantur qui contra Regem senserint; imo qui Regi paraverit, pro excommunicato habeatur, qui contra Regem fecerit, à noxa injustitiæ & perjurii absolvatur. Sigeb. Chron. ann 1088.

God (who saith to a King, Remove; and who maketh an Hypocrite to reign, for the sins of the People) should teach the People that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an Oath of fidelity unto them, yet they owe no fidelity to them, nor are to be accounted perjured

\* Rev. 20. 7. See the Book De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu, c. 5.

† Nihil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus: sed hoc dicimus, quod etiam si talis esset, tamen eum principari nobis pateremur, quia ut talis nobis princeps sit, peccando meremur. Esto: concedimus vobis inviti, eum talem esse qualem dicitis. Nec talis à nobis repellendus esset armis contra eum sumptis, sed precibus ad Deum fufis, Eccl. Leodiens. in resp. ad Epist. Pasch. II. Papæ (tom. 2. Concil. edit. Colon. an. 1551. p. 815.)

though they hold against the King; nay he that obeyeth the King shall be held as excommunicated, and he that opposeth the King shall be absolved from the guilt of unjustice and perjury. Of which Schismatical novelty, introduced by \* Satan newly loosed, the Clergy men of Liege complain at large in their answer to the Epistle of Pope Paschal II. where, among many other things pertinent to this purpose, they thus justify the continuance of their subjection to their unjustly deprived Emperour; † For the present we say nothing in the defence of our Emperour: but this we say, that although he were such as you report him to be, yet should we suffer him to rule over us; because by our sins we have deserved, that

such

such a one should rule over us. Be it: let us grant against our will that he is such a one as you say he is. Even such a Prince ought not to be repelled by taking Arms against him, but by pouring out of our prayers to God. Which kind of weapons Bernard, not long after that, proposeth as the only lawful ones that may be used for the vindicating of the injuries offered unto Gods Church: writing thus confidently unto Ludovicus Crassus then King of France, \* Indeed we will stand and fight even unto death, if need so require, in our Mothers behalf, with such weapons as we may lawfully use: not with Bucklers and Swords, but with Prayers and Tears to God: and yet for his allegiance to the King himself he delivered his mind as resolutely on the other side: † If the whole World should conspire against me, that I should attempt any thing against the Kings Majesty; I would notwithstanding fear God, and not presume rashly to offend the King ordained by him. For I am not ignorant where I have read, Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God.

\* Profecto stābimus & pugnabimus usque ad mortem, si ita oportuerit, pro matre nostra, armis quibus licet: non scutis & gladiis, sed precibus stetitibusque ad Deum. Bernard. Ep. 221. ad Ludov. reg.  
† Si totus orbis adversum me conjuraret, ut quidpiam molirer adversus Regiam Majestatem; ego tamen Deum timerem, & ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere timere non auderem. Nec enim ignoro ubi legerim, Quis potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Id. Epist. 170. ad eund.

And thus have I laid together such testimonies of antiquity as did occur in my reading as well touching the doctrine

Strive as the exercise of Regal Sovereignty and Christian Subjection. Wherein however in the handling of particulars some error may have escaped me; yet my main aim and scope, I am sure, is straight and upright; which is no other but to confirm all good Subjects in their dutiful obedience unto their Prince, and to prevent Sedition and Rebellion in such, as being otherwise well minded, might perhaps for want of better information be drawn out of the way, and misguided to their own destruction.

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*FINIS.*

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